

BULLETIN OF  
THE JOHN RYLANDS  
LIBRARY  
MANCHESTER

EDITED  
BY THE  
LIBRARIAN  
(HENRY GUPPY)

Vol. 22

OCTOBER, 1938

No. 2

NOTES AND NEWS.

IN the annual statement of the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Manchester (Professor J. S. B. Stopford, F.R.S.), issued at the degree ceremonies in July last, with which the regular work of the University ended, reference is made to several important changes and developments in courses of study.

THE  
UNIVERSITY  
OF  
MANCHESTER.

The courses in town and country planning, for example, have been revised and a preliminary course introduced, which will make it possible to offer a full training in planning, a development described by the Vice-Chancellor as highly desirable since town and country planning is now a recognised profession and practised independently of the older professions of architecture, surveying and engineering.

A new degree of Doctor of Dental Surgery has been instituted with a view to encouraging research and advanced study in dentistry; in the Faculty of Law, new ordinances have been approved which make provision for a separate honours course of study, and it has been decided in future to include social administration as a subject for the degree of B.A. in Administration and, in addition, a new certificate in social administration has been instituted.

"These changes," writes Dr. Stopford, "will prove of interest and value to those who are preparing to enter the public social services."

The Vice-Chancellor further reviews the three stages in which the extension and modernisation of the University buildings are being undertaken, and says it is anticipated that it will be possible to start the erection of the Department of Physical Chemistry building in Burlington Street in the later months of

the year. The site for this building has been selected so that in years to come the whole department may be rebuilt in stages, and the building for physical chemistry will form the first stage in the rebuilding of the whole.

He also refers to the unusual number of changes in the professorial staff which have taken place recently, and to the appointment of the four new professors, who will take up their duties in September.

With the appointments just made, almost a fifth of the members will have very recently joined the Senate or will take office at the beginning of next session. Professors Blackett (Physics), Ritchie (Philosophy), Semple (Latin), and Wood Jones (Anatomy) are the recent members. Principal Mouat Jones, a member since 1921, is retiring from the Senate on his appointment to the Vice-Chancellorship of the University of Leeds. Next session four new professors will join it. Professor R. A. C. Oliver, who comes to the University from the position of deputy secretary to the Devonshire Education Committee, will succeed Professor Duff in the Chair of Education ; in Economics Professor J. R. A. Hicks, University Lecturer at Cambridge, succeeds the late Professor Daniels ; Dr. A. R. Todd, Reader in Bio-Chemistry at the Lister Institute of the University of London, has been appointed to the Chair of Chemistry on the resignation of Professor Heilbron, and Dr. Willis Jackson, resident engineer to the Metropolitan-Vickers Electrical Company, will succeed Professor Beattie, who is retiring from the Chair of Electro-Technics.

Among members of the University staff who are retiring, or have resigned to take up other appointments, are an unusual number who have given long and valuable service to the University. Professor Robert Beattie retires from the Chair of Electro-Technics and the directorship of the department after a period of over forty years of membership of the teaching staff. Professor I. M. Heilbron leaves the Chair of Chemistry and the directorship of the chemical laboratory for the Chair of Organic Chemistry at the Imperial College of Science and Technology in London. Mr. E. G. Gaul, a Lecturer in Chemistry, is retiring after 30 years on the teaching staff. Among the many



services to the University which Mr. Gaul has given is the active share which he has taken in the formation and development of the Manchester branch of the Association of University Teachers, of which he has been treasurer, secretary, and latterly president. Dr. Bertie Wilkinson, Lecturer in History, has been appointed Professor of History in the University of Toronto and has already left England.

Miss Winifred Hindshaw is retiring from the post of Lecturer in Education after 23 years' service to the department. Mr. Henry Percival, sub-librarian in the University Library, of the staff of which he has been a member for considerably over forty years, will complete his term of office and retire in September. Mr. Garnett Wright, F.R.C.S., who was appointed to the teaching staff in the Medical School in 1911, will retire from his lectureship in surgical pathology. Mme. Andrée Valette, Lecturer in French, is leaving the University on her resignation after 20 years. During the present session, Mr. H. P. Turner and Mr. R. D. Waller have jointly held the office of director of extra-mural studies. Mr. Waller will continue as director on Mr. Turner's retirement in September. Miss Ethel Herdman, vice-warden of the Ashburne Hall of Residence for Women Students, after 11 years as a member of the Hall staff, is leaving for the post of warden of Bedford College House, London.

There is a long list of distinctions and honours received by members of the University, including the honorary degree of D.D. conferred upon Professor Manson by the University of Durham, the award of the Order of Merit to Sir Arthur S. Eddington, the honorary degree of Doctor of Civil Law conferred upon Miss Eleanor Rathbone, M.P., by the University of Oxford, the appointment of Dr. W. L. Bragg, formerly Professor of Physics, to the Cavendish Chair of Experimental Physics at Cambridge, in succession to Lord Rutherford, the appointment of Professor S. H. Raper as an Honorary Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, and the award of the Nobel Prize to Professor W. N. Haworth (jointly with Professor Karrer of Zurich). Five former members of the teaching staff have been appointed to chairs in other universities or colleges.

Dr. Stopford describes the response to the appeal for funds

for the development scheme as "most gratifying," but adds that it is the last lap in any race which is the most difficult. He notes that the same progress has not so far been made with the appeal for an increase of £10,000 in the annual income, the need for which, he says, is just as urgent.

The references to the extension of the premises, he says, do not imply any fundamental change in policy. "We have not transferred our first interests from persons and scholarship to bricks and mortar. From the first, and I earnestly hope that this will ever be the case, we have sought the best and most distinguished teachers, and our aim has been to maintain a continuous improvement in standards. Recent records prove that these things of primary importance are not being displaced or forgotten for a single moment, and we realise that, as the largest of the modern universities, we have a particular duty to perform by helping to mould the tradition and destiny of the civic universities. Our building scheme has as its object the provision of enhanced opportunities for students and staff, a happier and healthier academic family, and facilities which will enable the University to offer better services."

"On more than one occasion," continued Dr. Stopford, "I have made mention of developments in horticulture, and these references have led to inquiries being made from me as to whether the subject of agriculture is represented in our Faculty of Science. In response to these inquiries I would state that by arrangement with the Ministry of Agriculture we have for something like twenty years had an advisory department in agriculture. In addition to the helpful work which is being done in the way of advising farmers in the North-western province, the staff of that department have made important contributions in such subjects as agricultural economics, the control and extermination of pests, the prevention of plant diseases, and soil chemistry, so that my reply would be that the University has a very active and keen interest in agriculture, and I am pleased to say that our responsibility and our work in that direction are actually increasing."

Indeed, the University to those who knew it in past years is completely changing, and the extended and more attractive



accommodation in the unions and the use of the new staff-house are amenities among the best to be found. The staff-house has proved of the greatest benefit in many ways to the social life of the staff, who bore with singular patience the former cramped discomfort long after it was out of date. The common-rooms, with their pleasant and comfortable furnishing and their wide windows, open on warm days, when such rare boons are granted, are delightful in summer, and in the cold and gloomy winter months they are warm and cheerful. The new general common-room for staff and students, past and present, which is shortly to be provided will be a further welcome amenity, and it should also prove a much-needed centre for the growing body of Convocation and should maintain and strengthen the tie between the University and the students now at work in the community outside.

The building of the new Dental School and Clinic founded by the fine generosity of Sir Samuel Turner will begin at once. The accommodation and equipment provided will make this department one of the finest dental schools to be found anywhere. Another great undertaking is the building of a new department of physical chemistry. The plans have been very carefully thought out and prepared, and before long the constructive work will begin.

The volume of work and the number of experts engaged in research in the economics research section have been increased, and valuable reports have been issued dealing with conditions in the juvenile labour market, wages in the cotton weaving industry, the organisation and development of the British gas industry, and the growth in the importance of public property.

The second issue of the "Journal of the University of Manchester" made its appearance in July, and is calculated to serve the purpose its promoters had in view of stimulating interest in the affairs of the university. THE  
JOURNAL OF  
THE  
UNIVERSITY.

The opening article is a message to the graduates from the Vice-Chancellor in which Professor Stopford refers to the welcome developments which are taking place under the new

scheme of extension. One of the most valuable additions to the amenities of the University is the staff-house which has won general admiration with its spacious dining-rooms and attractive common-rooms.

In a non-residential university these efforts to make more intimate and helpful the association between staff and students is of particular significance, and the most recent of these efforts is the establishment of a luncheon club, which will afford opportunities of joint meetings by the staff and students in approximately equal numbers, and of talks on topics of general interest after the meal. It will also enable the members of the University to make closer contact with their friends in the city.

It is reported that there has been a gratifying response to the appeal for funds, but it is the last lap in any race which calls for the greatest effort, but there is no cause for anxiety with such a body of graduates as it has behind it to lend their aid.

The appeal for an additional £10,000 to income each year, could be met, as the Vice-Chancellor points out, by an annual subscription of £1 per annum from past and present graduates, which may well be regarded as deferred payment of fees, since it is well known that the class fees an undergraduate pays cover less than a third of the cost of tuition, and in the case of post-graduates and research students their fees constitute an even smaller proportion of the total cost.

Professor Jacob contributes an interesting article on the aims of the School of History, which has gained a deservedly high position. It has grown into one of the strongest departments of the University, and one of which the University is justly proud.

Mr. John Coatman, the recently appointed North Regional Director of the British Broadcasting Corporation, and a graduate of the University, writes upon the significance of a Lancashire University to the community, and describes it as the great intellectual power house of the whole educational system of its neighbourhood, wherefrom flow the currents of intellectual light and warmth which comfort the entire region. As a result the part played by the University in the area is incalculable.

Although, as Mr. Coatman points out, Oxford and Cambridge



will always be the ultimate goal of the best of our scholars for a scholarship of one of the more famous colleges, yet the idea that an Oxford or Cambridge degree is inherently superior to one of any other university can no longer be advanced with the same force as was the case in the early days of the establishment of modern universities before they had fully justified their establishment. Now, however, Manchester is regarded as a good stepping-off place, and many chairs in the older universities have been filled by graduates and teachers from the younger foundations.

Professor Bragg deals with the Physics Departments, Mr. Pilkington Turner with the University Settlement, Mr. W. P. Crozier outlines the plans for the creation of a new physical recreation centre, which the generosity of Sir Robert McDougall has made practically possible through the purchase and presentation of the old riding school and drill hall in Burlington Street, if further financial support can be found. It is hoped to provide a place for medical supervision and advice so that those who are wise enough to seek it may receive expert guidance as to the suitability of particular forms of exercise and on the effects of their recreation on their physical development.

The Journal is a live periodical, and should do much to stimulate interest in the University and its many activities.

It is with the deepest sorrow that we have to record the death of Professor Samuel Alexander, O.M., F.B.A., which took place at his home at Withington, Manchester, on Tuesday, the 14th September, in the eightieth year of his age, after an illness of five weeks.

PROFESSOR SAMUEL ALEXANDER, O.M., F.B.A.
---

By the death of Professor Alexander, the world of scholarship sustains the incalculable loss of a scholar of international reputation, who was one of the greatest of our modern philosophers; and Manchester, the city of his adoption, will mourn the loss of one of the most distinguished of her citizens, who by his personality and charm had won the affectionate regard of all with whom he came into contact.

Samuel Alexander, born in Sydney, New South Wales, on

January the 6th, 1859, was educated at Wesley College, Melbourne, and at Melbourne University. In 1878 he obtained a scholarship at Balliol College, Oxford, and in 1879 took a first class in Classical and Mathematical Moderations (a rare achievement), which he followed up with a first in Lit. Hum. in 1881. In the following year, he was elected a Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford, and from 1882 to 1893 he remained there as tutor in philosophy. It was here that he developed his interest in psychology, especially on the empirical side, which he kept up throughout life. During these years he was writing on philosophy, and in 1888 he gained the Greek Moral Philosophy Prize. The subject of his essay was "Moral Order and Progress," which was published in the following year, and showed already two characteristics of Alexander's mature mind.

In 1893 Alexander left Lincoln College to succeed Adamson in Manchester in the Samuel Hall Chair of Philosophy, and here he remained until the final call reached him. He played a considerable part in the process by which Owen's College, in 1893, became the Victoria University.

In 1916 and 1918 he delivered the Glasgow Gifford Lectures, which were published in two volumes, in 1920, under the title: "Space, Time and Deity." This was his *magnum opus* and proved to be the most original and systematic work on philosophy which had been produced in England or elsewhere for a very long time. At the time of the appearance of the work, a reviewer pointed out the similarity in certain respects between Alexander's philosophy and that of Spinoza. This greatly pleased Alexander, for he was always proud to be a Jew like his great forerunner, and said that his philosophy was Spinoza's, with time put in.

Alexander retired from his professorship in 1934, after thirty-one years of service, but he did not leave Manchester, where in a variety of ways he continued to work for the University. On his retirement he was appointed honorary professor of philosophy, and whenever required he was ready with help and advice.

Until 1930 he retained the office of Presentor for Honorary Degrees in the University, and the grace and skill with which he carried out his task endeared him to many thousands of



persons whom his philosophy could not reach. Few of his hearers could know or realise how much patient work and careful thought went to the making of his deft, humorous, informative and slightly malicious characterisations, and few realised the degree of their originality.

When he was released from regular attendance at the University, Alexander made full use of his increased freedom of movement. He read papers on philosophical and literary subjects all over the country, and he was active unto the last in the service of the British Academy, of which he was one of the earliest Fellows, appointed in 1913. He also rendered active service to the British Institute of Philosophy and on behalf of the Jewish Communities both in England and Palestine.

He was a most welcome contributor to the Rylands Public Lectures, and he has enriched the pages of the "Bulletin" with some penetrating studies on such subjects as: "The Art of Jane Austen" (1928), "Molière and Life" (1926), "Pascal the Writer" (1931), "Value" (1933).

Until the publication of his "Gifford Lectures" in 1926, Alexander had produced little but occasional articles. His earlier and also his later writings were: "Moral Order and Progress" (1889); an important study of "Locke" (1908); "Spinoza and his Times" (1921); "Art and Material Beauty" (1925); and "Beauty and the Forms of Value" (1933).

In the latter part of his life he achieved the distinction of admission to the Order of Merit in 1930, a belated recognition of his unique public position, paralleled by no other British philosopher. Five years earlier the University of Manchester did him signal honour by placing in the centre of the entrance Hall of the new Arts Building a fine bust by Epstein which had been purchased by the subscription of friends, pupils, and colleagues.

Alexander was the most modest of men, but his fame as a scholar of international reputation was duly recognized. His academic honours included: the Hon. LL.D. of St. Andrews and Birmingham; the Hon. D.Litt. of Durham and Oxford; the Hon. Litt.D. of Cambridge and Liverpool. He was elected Fellow of the British Academy in 1913; Hon. Fellow of Lincoln

College in 1918 ; Hon. Fellow of Balliol College in 1925 ; Hon. Professor of Philosophy at Manchester in 1925 ; President of the Aristotelean Society in 1908-11, and again in 1936-37.

By the death of Alexander we have lost one of the wisest and kindest of men.

It is with profound regret that we have to record the premature death of Professor Eric V. Gordon, who had held the Smith Chair of English Literature and Germanic Philology in the University of Manchester since 1931. His death took place on Saturday, the 30th of July.

PROFESSOR ERIC V. GORDON.
---------------------------------

Professor Gordon, who was forty years of age, was born at Salmon Arm in British Columbia, on the 14th February, 1896. He was educated at Victoria College, British Columbia, McGill University, and University College, Oxford, whither he came as a Rhodes Scholar. His undergraduate course was interrupted by the Great War, in which he took part. Upon his return he graduated in 1920. In the next year he was appointed as an assistant lecturer in the English Department of Leeds University, and when Professor Tolkien left Leeds for Oxford, four years later, Gordon was appointed to succeed him as Professor of English Language. In 1931 he came to Manchester to fill the Smith Chair.

Professor H. B. Charlton, in a touching appreciation of the life and work of his friend and colleague, refers to the passing of Gordon, in the full vigour of his academic career, as a lamentable loss to the University, for it loses a professor who was a scholar by temperament as well as by choice.

While his studies were generally distributed among the Germanic languages, Professor Gordon's main interests were in English, Old Norse, and Icelandic. He edited with Professor Tolkien the Middle English poem, "Sir Gawayne and the Green Knight." He contributed largely to the learned journals, and was the editor of Anglo-Saxon and Middle English texts. His work on Icelandic was recognised by the King of Denmark, who conferred on him the Knighthood of the Falcon Order of Iceland, and he was an honorary Fellow of the Icelandic Society of Letters.



Professor Charlton describes his late colleague's scholarship as a crusade, but a crusade in which he insisted for himself no less than for his pupils that the spotlight moments of discovery could be achieved only by continuous application to methodical spade work, and by the hard discipline of accurate routine.

In two departments of his chosen field of learning he had already become an established name amongst European and American scholars. He elucidated as editor two of the most difficult of medieval English texts, and gave much of his enthusiasm to the expansion of Old Norse and Icelandic lore, though it was characteristic of his modesty that his bulkier contributions to this branch of knowledge were an introduction for beginners in this study, and a translation of an authoritative book on Norse archaeology written by two Danes.

Professor Gordon was Dean of the Arts Faculty during two years of steady progress and development, and was one of the Faculty's wisest advisers, one also of the Senate's most impartial committee-men, and lately represented the Senate on the governing body of the whole University.

His natural bent, however, was not for administration of the more general kind, but for the organisation of his own chosen corner of academic scholarship. Although he was in Manchester but seven years, he reshaped the idea of the place of philology in the curriculum of English studies, and justified by results the wisdom of his reform.

Professor Charlton considers that he owed much to his genius for teaching, and it may be that he himself would prefer to be remembered above all as a teacher. He earned the affection as well as the veneration of his students, a reward which comes but rarely to university teachers.

The passing of Professor Gordon has robbed our readers of a study of the "Elder Edda," which he had promised to contribute to the present issue.

Professor Gordon leaves a widow and three children to mourn his loss, to whom we desire to offer our deepest sympathy.

The third volume of the "Catalogue of Greek and Latin Papyri in the John Rylands Library" which has just been published, deals with the theological and literary portions of the hitherto unexplored portions of the Rylands collection of papyri. It is a volume in quarto of 236 pages, with ten plates. It is bound in cloth, and is published at the price of one guinea net.

RYLANDS  
GREEK  
PAPYRI

The history of the collection dates back to the time when Bernard P. Grenfell and his friend and fellow Queen's man Arthur S. Hunt, between 1895 and 1907, made a number of joint expeditions to Egypt, where among the ruins and rubbish heaps of towns in the Fayum, at Oxyrhynchus and elsewhere, they were successful in making a number of most important finds.

It was during these joint expeditions that the nucleus of the Rylands collection was formed, at first for the Earl of Crawford, and after the acquisition, in 1901, of the Crawford Manuscripts for the Rylands Library, for the Governors of that institution.

These two young scholars had undertaken to prepare a catalogue of the collection, but ill-health and the pressure of other claims upon the time of Dr. Grenfell prevented him from taking any active part in the work, which consequently devolved upon Dr. Hunt.

The first volume of the resulting catalogue, which dealt with the literary texts, made its appearance in 1911.

This was followed in 1915 by the second volume, devoted to documents of the Ptolemaic and Roman period, the preparation and publication of which was carried out by Dr. John Johnson, Dr. Victor Martin of Geneva, and Dr. Hunt.

Arrangements were made for the publication of the remaining portion of the collection, consisting of documents of the Byzantine period, which also included a further batch of fragments acquired by Dr. Grenfell in 1920. This was to form the third volume of the Catalogue, and was to be undertaken by Dr. Hunt, but by his untimely death in 1934 the library was deprived of his services, even before he had done more than a little preliminary sorting.

It was fortunate that just before his death, Dr. Hunt had



arranged with the present editor, Mr. C. H. Roberts, Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford (who has since been appointed Lecturer in Papyrology in the University of Oxford), to take over the work of preparing for publication the residue of the Rylands Collection, which in addition to the Grenfell-Hunt papyri included a further collection obtained by Dr. Rendel Harris during an enforced sojourn in Egypt, between November, 1916, and May, 1917, which were at once acquired for the Library, although they were wisely left in safe custody in Egypt until such time as they could be transported to England without risk, and that was not possible until 1919.

In sorting over the residue of the collection, Mr. Roberts found it to contain some extremely interesting papyri, including a number of literary texts, a fragment of St. John's Gospel, which proved to be the earliest known fragment of the New Testament, and probably the earliest witness for the existence of the Gospel according to St. John; fragments of a papyrus roll of the Book of Deuteronomy in the Greek of the Septuagint, without doubt of the second century B.C., in other words, three hundred years earlier than any other known manuscript of the Bible in any language.

So many biblical, theological, and literary fragments have been found amongst the unpublished fragments that this third volume has been devoted exclusively to them, and a fourth volume has been planned in which the non-literary documents of the Ptolemaic, Roman, and Byzantine periods, ranging in date from the third century B.C. to the sixth century A.D., will be dealt with.

For the difficult task of deciphering and describing the papyri dealt with in the pages of this third volume, the Governors were fortunate in being able to secure the services of so competent a scholar as Mr. Roberts, and we take this opportunity of congratulating him upon the masterly way in which he has presented the palaeographical and textual results of his investigations to our readers.

Elsewhere in these pages we print an independent estimate of the importance of the manuscripts dealt with in this volume, together with an expression of high appreciation of the scholarly work of the editor, Mr. C. H. Roberts, with which we have

been favoured by Professor A. Souter, F.B.A., who for nearly thirty years was Regius Professor of Humanity in the University of Aberdeen, and since his retirement to Oxford has undertaken the editorship of the "Oxford Latin Dictionary." We are very grateful to Professor Souter for his encouraging words.

We have pleasure also in announcing the publication of the "Catalogue of Samaritan Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library," a quarto volume of 248 pages, with five plates, the published price of which is one guinea net. The comparatively small though very important group of manuscripts dealt with in this catalogue forms part of the collection of oriental and western manuscripts acquired by Mrs. Rylands, in 1901, from the 26th Earl of Crawford, for the enrichment of her foundation, which hitherto, though admittedly rich in early printed books by reason of the possession of the Spencer-Althorp Library, had been deficient in the matter of manuscripts.

RYLANDS  
SAMARITAN  
MANUSCRIPTS.

By the acquisition of the 6000 Crawford rolls and codices, the range of the Rylands Library was considerably enlarged, and it is but bare justice to acknowledge the great debt the library owes to the foresight and scholarly judgment of successive members of the House of Lindsay, who were responsible for the formation of the great private library, best known to scholars as the "Bibliotheca Lindesiana," of which the manuscripts formed a comparatively small though very precious part.

For the difficult task of describing these manuscripts, the Governors have been fortunate in being able to enlist the services of Professor Edward Robertson, the Head of the Department of Semitic Studies in the University of Manchester, a frequent contributor to the pages of the "Bulletin," who, with the help of a sheaf of notes that had been accumulated over a series of years by the late Sir Arthur Cowley, with a view to the publication of a catalogue of the collection, which through pressure of other claims upon his time, he was unable to carry through, has produced a volume which will not only add distinction to the compiler, but also to the library.

In his introduction to the "Catalogue," Professor Robertson



has sketched the history of the collection as far as it has been possible to recover it, and has dealt with the practices of the Samaritan scribes, their system of punctuation, and the materials they employed for their books.

The descriptive notes are so elaborate that even a layman finds himself able to appreciate the importance of the manuscripts under description. They are made to speak for themselves, and as a result, we have a picture of the manners and customs of this religious sect, which has been derived from the notes left by the Samaritans themselves in the margins and on the surplus leaves of their codices.

In a short biographical sketch of Gilbert White of Selborne, written by Edward Jesse for Sir William Jardine's edition of "The Natural History of Selborne," published in 1850, we are told that John Mulso was White's most intimate friend, and that between them a most interesting and amusing series of letters passed.

JOHN  
MULSO AND  
HIS FRIEND  
GILBERT  
WHITE OF  
SELBORNE.

These letters would have been well worth publishing, and it was intended that this should be done, but when Mr. Mulso's son was applied to for Mr. White's correspondence, the mortifying answer was received that they had all been destroyed.

Fortunately the letters of Mulso, 233 in number, extending from 1744 to 1790, still survive. They came into the possession of John White the publisher, a nephew of the naturalist, and from him they passed to his son the Reverend John Tahourdin White, long a master of Christ's Hospital, well known as a scholar and classical editor, who at one time proposed to publish them. For this reason he declined to lend them to Mr. Bell, who, when compiling his edition of Gilbert White's book, borrowed much manuscript material from other members of the family. Unfortunately Dr. White died, in 1893, without having carried out his intention. The letters then became the property of the ninth Earl of Stamford, a great-grandson of Gilbert White's youngest brother Henry, and at his instance they were published in 1906, with notes and an introduction by Mr. Rashleigh Holt-White. They later passed to the present Earl of Stamford

from whom, with the approval of the Earl's mother, the Countess of Stamford, they have now passed, by gift, into the possession of the Rylands Library.

Gilbert White's correspondent, born on the 16th November, 1721, was rather more than a year younger than his friend. He entered Winchester College as a foundation scholar in 1734, and left in 1740, third upon the roll; William Collins, the poet, was first, and Joseph Warton was second. He matriculated at Oriel College, Oxford, on the 27th November, 1740, a little later than White, who had gone into residence there in April of the same year. He graduated on the 6th of June, 1744, about seven weeks before the commencement of the correspondence which forms the subject of these notes. From a sentence in one of the letters it would appear that the friendship commenced in 1741, when Mulso first entered Oriel.

The circumstances and events of John Mulso's life are very fully detailed in these letters to his intimate friend. He died in his prebendal house at Winchester, in his 70th year, on the 21st September, 1791, rather less than two years before the death of Gilbert White.

Admirers of the Selborne naturalist will greatly regret the destruction of his letters to Mulso, all the more since, with the exception of a very few lines of biography written by his nephew John White, the publisher, there is no account of Gilbert White by any of his contemporaries. Consequently, it is to these letters from his friend that it is necessary to turn for what is almost the only contemporary estimate of the naturalist's character and career.

In reading them through, says Mr. Rashleigh Holt-White, I have sometimes wondered whether there ever were two men of more totally opposite habits and character, whose friendship lasted without the smallest apparent cloud for fifty years. Both were men of good education, fond of books and reading, but while Gilbert White grew up in a home situate in the depths of the country literally "five miles from anywhere," and amid circumstances which must have been such as to cultivate hardihood and self-reliance, Mulso was a typical townsman, who loved the corner seat in a carriage rather than the back of a horse.



The two friends certainly took very different views of life and its duties. Mulso's letters certainly evince a full recognition of this difference of character. Early in the correspondence he wrote: "I envy you your bold Flights, your Eagle Ranges . . . I am a poor skulking Quail, whose very lovesong is plaintive," and in many other passages he does full justice to White's greater energy and firmness of disposition.

Perhaps the most striking point in the letters is the extraordinarily correct estimate their author forms of his friend's powers as a descriptive naturalist, and the wonderfully accurate prophecies he indulged in of the future success of the book which was being written by a then wholly obscure country clergyman, many years before that book was published, or even completed. There are many such anticipations of White's and of Selborne's future renown.

That White's "Selborne" is the only work of natural history which has attained the rank of an English classic is admitted by general acclamation, as well as by competent critics, and numerous attempts have been made to discover the secret of its ever-growing reputation. Scarcely two of them agree, and no explanation whatever offered of the charm which invests it can be accepted as in itself satisfactory. It was the first book of its kind to appear in this country and therefore had no rivals to encounter before its reputation was established.

White was a prince of observers, always observing the right thing in the right way. He was a scholar, a gentleman and a philosopher of no mean depth, and Mulso again and again, in these letters, bears eloquent witness to the career and abilities of the man whom their author so loved and admired.

The full title of the printed edition of these letters, which the writer of these notes has drawn upon, is as follows: "The Letters to Gilbert White of Selborne from his Intimate Friend and Contemporary, the Rev. John Mulso." Edited with notes and an introduction by Rashleigh Holt-White, M.A., author of "The Life and Letters of Gilbert White of Selborne," London: R. H. Porter, 7 Prince's Street, Cavendish Square, W. [1906].

Rival claims to the valuable Boswell manuscripts, letters and other documents discovered in Fettercairn House, Kincardineshire, in 1931, have been settled by a judgment given in the Court of Session in Edinburgh by Lord Stevenson, on the 20th August.

The collection was lost for nearly 150 years, and since 1931 there have been four rival claimants for it.

It was supposed for many years that Boswell's manuscripts had been destroyed after his death. The documents which were the subject of dispute were discovered at Fettercairn House, of which Lord Clinton is proprietor.

The action was taken by E. M. Wedderburn, judicial factor on the estate of the late James Boswell, of Auchinleck, against Baron Clinton and Saye, Lieutenant-Colonel R. H. Isham, New York, and Sir G. A. Boswell Alliott, Hawick, for the distribution of the manuscripts, letters and other documents forming the estate in charge of the judicial factor among the claimants found entitled to them.

The property in dispute consisted of (1) a number of Boswell manuscripts, including his "London Journal," 1762-63, part of his "Journal" for 1778, and two registers of letters sent and received; (2) the correspondence between James Boswell and Sir William Forbes; (3) 287 drafts or copies of letters from Boswell, many in his own hand, of which only a few have been published; (4) 1030 letters to Boswell from many of the leading persons of his age; and (5) 119 letters from Johnson to various correspondents, being part of the material used by Boswell in writing the "Life of Johnson," of which all but a few have been published.

Lieutenant-Colonel Isham claimed the property as the assignee of Lord Talbot, who succeeded to the "books and pictures in the house of Auchinleck," under the testamentary writings of his aunt, Boswell's great-granddaughter, Julia Boswell Mounsey. Alternatively he claimed one half share of the documents as assignee of Lord Talbot, who was general disponee under the marriage contract of his mother, Emily Boswell, mother of Boswell's great-granddaughters.

The unsuccessful claimants were Lord Clinton, of Fetter-



cairn House, the oldest descendant of the direct line of Sir William Forbes, the executor of Boswell who died in 1795, and Mrs. Mary Cumberlege or Hailey, claiming as descendant of one of Boswell's younger children.

Lord Stevenson came to the conclusion that Boswell's manuscripts and letters were at Auchinleck, when he signed his will in London, in May, 1785. He was preparing his "Tour" for publication in the autumn, and the terms of his codicil dated in December, 1785, led to the inference that the manuscripts referred to therein had been recently taken to London. Those manuscripts were his life's work and a subject of great pride, and one would expect to find some instructions in his will as to their location if they were not in the house at Auchinleck at the date when he signed his will.

It was reasonable to infer that the codicil dated December, 1785, was written because he desired such manuscripts as he had taken to London to be collected before they fell into the hands of strangers. Further, in his correspondence, Boswell showed that he looked upon Auchinleck as the home for his papers.

Lord Stevenson, in his judgment, determined that Alexander Boswell, as the testator's eldest son, was entitled to demand delivery of the papers from Sir William Forbes. He thought it clear that Forbes received the papers, or some of them, from Alexander for the sole purpose of determining which of them the literary trustees should publish. In other words that he received them for a trust purpose. If Alexander had a right to demand delivery of the papers that right transmitted to the widow of his son James.

In Lord Stevenson's opinion, however, it did not transmit to Mrs. Mounsey under the gift of "books in Auchinleck." It was, he thought, doubtful whether manuscripts would pass under a gift of books, but the manuscripts which were claimed in this case were not in Auchinleck at the date of the settlement of James's widow or at the date of her death.

The right to demand the manuscripts therefore passed equally to her two daughters as part of the residue of her estate. Lady Talbot and Mrs. Mounsey shared this right between them. Lady Talbot's share passed under her marriage contract to her

son, the present Lord Talbot, who had assigned his right thereto to Lieutenant-Colonel Isham. Mrs. Mounsey's share passed under the residue clause of her will to Cumberland Infirmary.

Lieutenant-Colonel Isham and the Cumberland Infirmary are, therefore, equally entitled to the property.

Lieutenant-Colonel Isham is already well known as the owner of a large collection of other Boswell manuscripts he bought in 1927 from Lord Talbot de Malahide, of which a catalogue was printed in 1931.

We commend to the sympathetic consideration of our readers the appeal for wider support recently issued by the British School at Rome, which, like its sister institution at Athens, forms an essential element in the scheme of higher education, the object of which is to continue and develop the work of the universities whose students it receives.

THE  
BRITISH  
SCHOOL AT  
ROME.

The School was established in 1901 for the pursuit of those archaeological, historical, and literary studies which can only be conducted in Rome. In 1912 it was reorganised with a view of introducing the study and practice of the Fine Arts, and the original foundation was reconstructed as the "Faculty of Archaeology, History, and Letters" in the new chartered institute, and its quarters were subsequently moved from the Odescalchi Palace to the new School building in the Valle Giulia, where working and residential accommodation was also provided for students of the Faculties of Arts.

Funds for the erection of the building as well as for the establishment of the Rome Scholarships in the Fine Arts were provided mainly by the Royal Commission for the Exhibition of 1851, which also makes a substantial annual grant in aid of the general expenses of administration and maintenance.

The School is able to offer facilities for residence in Rome and for research in a wide field of studies, including prehistoric, classical, and medieval archaeology in Italy, and the history and literature of Italy in classical, medieval, and Renaissance times, but for many years it has been reluctantly compelled to provide only for those students who could find their way to Rome at



their own expense, with or without help from the endowments derived from their own universities. More recently the Faculty has been able to establish two scholarships, "The Rome Scholarship in Archaeology," including all classical studies, and "The Rome Scholarship in Medieval Studies," which are awarded in alternate years. These are open scholarships tenable for two years of the value of £150 per annum.

As a result of this appeal it is hoped to raise the value of these scholarships from £150 to £200 per annum, and to make them annual awards.

Another important service to scholarship which the school is rendering is through the medium of the "Papers of the British School at Rome," in which are published the more important archaeological and historical researches of the School and its members. Unfortunately, from lack of funds the publication of these volumes has become very irregular, and one of the most urgent needs is that this organ should be issued annually, so as to take its rightful place among the learned periodicals, and thus provide a source of accessions to the library through the system of exchanges which might be established with many of the leading learned journals in this and other countries.

The principal power house of any such school is its library, and if it is to meet the requirements of the students it must be made efficient, and be kept up-to-date. Already it has an excellent working collection of 25,000 volumes, covering the School's wide field of study, but in order to meet its existing obligations and to keep pace with the growth of knowledge and research in the various branches of the humanities and the fine arts in which the Faculty specialises it needs an additional income.

The object of the appeal is to raise the income of the Faculty by at least £950 per annum, with a view of increasing the value of the Rome Scholarships, of extending the scope of the library, of providing for the regular publication of the "Papers," and generally of increasing the range of the activities of the Faculty.

The Secretary of the Faculty, Mrs. D. W. Brogan (of 50 Bedford Square, London, W.C. 1), will gladly furnish any further information about the work of the Faculty; and the Hon. Treasurer, Mr. C. H. St. J. Hornby, will gratefully receive

any contribution or subscription that any of our readers may feel moved to make.

Professor F. M. Powicke, Regius Professor of History in the University of Oxford, has called attention to the formation in Malta, under the auspices of the HISTORY OF MALTA. Maltese Administration in Malta of a "Historical Archives of Malta Committee," which is actively engaged in compiling a list of the materials relating to the history of the Island, so far as they exist in public and private hands in this country.

Should the Committee receive the adequate support it deserves, it proposes to follow up the list by a series of publications of texts or calendars of the more important modern series of documents preserved in England relating to Maltese history.

The object of this note is to request any reader who may have knowledge of the existence of such material to forward information to Mr. Gordon Donaldson, at the Institute of Historical Research, in the University of London, W.C. 1.

Seymour de Ricci and his collaborator W. J. Wilson are rendering an incalculable service to students by the publication of the "Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada," of which the second volume has just made its appearance in print. MEDIEVAL AND RENAISSANCE MANUSCRIPTS IN AMERICA AND CANADA.

Some idea of the bulk of the material dealt with may be formed when it is explained that the two first volumes of the census comprise 2400 pages.

The work is issued under the auspices of the American Council of Learned Societies, shaped by Dr. Waldo J. Leland and Dr. Herbert Putnam, sustained by the General Education Board, and administered by the Library of Congress, with Monsieur Seymour de Ricci as editor aided by Dr. W. J. Wilson as assistant editor. It is only under such auspices that an enterprise of this magnitude could have been undertaken, for, to put it bluntly, there is no money in it.

It describes manuscripts and fragments of manuscripts in private as well as in public collections from Alabama to Massa-



chusetts in the first volume, and from Michigan to Wisconsin, Hawaii and Canada in the second ; and one of the most interesting and valuable features of the census is in the editors' detailed annotations of provenance, which render possible a most elaborate and fascinating study of the migration of manuscripts.

The work involved in such a survey is immense, and we offer not only our warmest congratulations, but our most grateful thanks to all those who have been responsible for placing such an invaluable source of reference at our service. It is true that the appetite grows with what it feeds upon, and we look forward with keen anticipation to the succeeding volumes with their promised indices, and alphabetical lists of unlocated manuscripts.

As we turn over the pages of this survey, we are simply amazed at the enterprise and the success which has attended the gathering and building up of the collections dealt with, for although individual manuscripts had drifted into America in the eighteenth century, it is only within the last thirty years that substantial collections of such material have been built up by American libraries and bibliophiles, who still continue to seize every opportunity for adding to their stores.

Pride of acquisition and splendour of contents give the most prominent place to the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York, and the Henry Huntington Library in Pasadena, although there are many other collections catalogued, both public and private, that exhibit the good taste as well as the good fortune of those who formed them.

The range seems to be all-embracing from gorgeous examples of the work of the great medieval schools of writing and illumination, such as a Biblical "Codex purpureus," the "Apocalypse of Saint Beatus," the "Ellesmere Chaucer," and such literary treasures as the "Towneley Mysteries," and the "Chester Plays." Of charters, deeds, letters, wills, and other papers there are incalculable numbers, in many cases the accumulation of centuries. There are letters of Catherine of Aragon, Bayard, and Rabelais, an autograph of Milton, the bill for a dinner at the Mermaid tavern in 1588, and such like priceless treasures in bewildering variety, of which those we mention are but a few examples taken at random.

It is difficult to resist the feeling that many of the collections and individual manuscripts to be found to-day in remote parts of the United States never should have been allowed to leave this country, for in this way much of the source material of our national history has been transported over-seas. There are however, redeeming features in this migration, for, whereas many of the collections had been sadly neglected and inaccessible while in this country, they are now in safe keeping, jealously guarded against the ravages of damp and neglect, and are being made readily accessible to students for purposes of research.

A few of the collections to which these remarks apply are to be found in the pages which describe the Henry Huntington Library. They are the charters and muniments of Battle Abbey, ranging from 1070 to 1800, in 97 volumes; the Stowe family papers preserved until 1925 in Stowe House, Buckinghamshire, which range from 1150 to 1870 and number about a million documents; and the Bridgewater Library and muniments which consist of a vast mass of deeds and papers, including the famous "Ellesmere Chaucer," the best known and handsomest of all Chaucer manuscripts.

An appeal has been launched which has for its object the raising of a sum of £5000 for the purchase and preservation of Kersal Cell, which is one of the last remaining examples of an ancient traditional home-  
stead in the neighbourhood of Manchester, and has an unique claim upon the interest of a world-wide public, not merely as a picturesque survival of ancient days, but as the birthplace and life-long home of the author of one of the world's most famous Christian hymns. It was here that John Byron spent his happiest days, and in an upper chamber in the south block of the existing house wrote "Christians awake" as a Christmas present for his daughter, Dolly, in 1747.

THE HOME OF  
"CHRISTIANS  
AWAKE."

The house contains many features of great interest, both historically and architecturally, and it would be something of a tragedy if Kersal Cell were swept away in the onrush of modern improvement, and those who believe in the educational value of such places of historic interest are earnestly invited to subscribe to this appeal to save a house we can ill afford to lose.



The appeal is signed by the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres, the Earl of Starnford, the Bishop of Manchester, the Lord Mayor of Manchester, the Mayor of Salford, the Chairman of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society, the Chairman of the Ancient Monuments Society, Hugh Walpole, and many other leading authorities. The Honorary Treasurer is Dr. J. E. Spence, of 24 Victoria Crescent, Eccles, Lancashire, to whom all donations should be sent.

The following historical notes have been prepared in the hope of stimulating interest in the subject of the appeal:

"The site of Kersal Cell was granted by De Gernons, Earl of Chester, about 1142 to the Cluniac Priory of Lenton for 'the building of a place for the service of God'. This grant was confirmed by Henry II and by King John. In the reign of the latter the hermitage was occupied by Sir Hugo de Burun, an eminent Crusader and the hero of a beautiful legend which tells how on the death of his wife he renounced his lands and titles, and, taking monastic vows, retired as a hermit to Kersal. The monastery existed for four hundred years, until, at the dissolution of the Abbey of Lenton in 1539, the property was purchased by Baldwin Willoughby, who reconstructed the monastic buildings to serve as a manor house, and in 1548 sold it to Ralph Kenyon. Four generations of the Kenyon family occupied the property, and after the Restoration it was disposed of to Edward Byrom, whose son, the celebrated John, was born there in February, 1691. On the death of his elder brother John succeeded to Kersal in 1740."

"Although best known by his most famous composition, John Byrom was a prolific writer 'with neither precursor nor successor in his particular line of composition'. His pastorate, 'Colin and Phœbe,' was described by Bishop Monkas one of the most exquisite specimens in existence. He was hailed as the 'Laureate of the Jacobites,' and many of his witty epigrams and satires have a permanent place in English literature. In 1742 he received a patent for his 'Art and Method of Shorthand,' which is regarded as the parent of all subsequent systems. As a scientist and scholar Byrom was held in esteem by the most distinguished men of his day. He died in September, 1763,

and it has been written of him that 'his mental powers and personal character were alike an honour to the English nation'. There can be no more worthy memorial of such a man than the preservation for all time of his dearly-loved Kersal home."

It will be of interest to many of our readers to learn that the Library of Congress at Washington has presented a complete set of its catalogue cards to the National Central Library in London, where it will be available to students for consultation. It is the only set of this catalogue in the country.

CONGRES-  
SIONAL  
LIBRARY  
CATALOGUE.

Appreciation of the value of the work of the National Central Library as a recognized centre for the circulation of books, not only in this country through the public libraries, but also abroad, has been further marked by the Rockefeller Foundation by means of a grant for the establishment of a "Bureau of American Bibliography," where information about American literature will be freely available to libraries or individual students.

The following is a list of the public lectures (the thirty-seventh series) which have been arranged for delivery in the lecture hall of the Library during the ensuing session 1938-1939 :—

RYLANDS  
PUBLIC  
LECTURES.

#### AFTERNOON LECTURES.—3 o'clock.

Thursday, 24th November, 1938. "The Mysticism of the Fourth Gospel." By C. H. Dodd, M.A., D.D., Norris-Hulse Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge.

Thursday, 9th February, 1939. "Psychologists and Culture." By T. H. Pear, M.A., B.Sc., Professor of Psychology in the University of Manchester.

#### EVENING LECTURES.—7.30 o'clock.

Tuesday, 11th October, 1938. "The Beginnings of the English Bible." By Henry Guppy, C.B.E., Litt.D., Librarian of the John Rylands Library.

Wednesday, 9th November, 1938. "Browning the Dramatist." By H. B. Charlton, M.A., Professor of English Literature in the University of Manchester.



Wednesday, 11th January, 1939. "St. Paul at Ephesus." By T. W. Manson, M.A., Litt.D., D.D., etc., Rylands Professor of Biblical Criticism and Exegesis in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 15th February, 1939. "Reginald Pecock, Bishop of Chichester." By E. F. Jacob, M.A., D.Phil., Professor of Medieval History in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 8th March, 1939. "Folklore and Culture Contacts." By H. J. Fleure, D.Sc., M.A., F.R.S., Professor of Geography in the University of Manchester.

In connection with the Commemoration of the 400th anniversary of the Publication of the Royal "Injunctions" on the 11th of October, 1538, which provided for the setting up of an English Bible "of the largest volume" in every parish Church throughout the land, a special Exhibition has been arranged in the Main Library to illustrate the "History of the Transmission of the Bible from the Earliest Times to the Present Day".

BIBLE  
EXHIBITION.

The Exhibition will be open to the public every afternoon between the hours of 2 and 6 o'clock, and on Tuesday and Friday evenings until 9 o'clock, and it will remain open between these hours until the end of October.

The recent accessions to the Department of Manuscripts include two important codices of treatises by the leading writers of the mystical Neo-Platonist movement in fifteenth century Southern Germany, both from the Benedictine Abbey of Melk (Austria), where they were written by Johann Schlitpacher and other Melk scribes. Pieces are grouped together by authors in the following description:—

RECENT  
MANUSCRIPT  
ACCESSIONS.

I. Written 1458—c. 1465. Contains: (i) ff. 1-130v. Bernardus de Waging, O.S.B. (c. 1400-1472), *Speculum Mortis. Scriptum per fratrem Christoferum Lieb de Ysni. Anno domini 1458 inchoante*. Unedited. (2) ff. 173-215. *Ib., De cognoscendo Deum. Finitum feria secunda post Cholomannum. Anno 1459*. Unedited. (3) ff. 219-21v. *Ib., Laudatorium Docte Ignorancie*. Written before 1460. Printed by Van Steenberghe in *Beiträge z.*

*Gesch. d. Philos. des Mittelalters*, XIV, but without reference to this copy, which is in the hand of Johann Schlitpacher, prior of Melk. (4) ff. 225-32v. Ib., *Defensorium Laudatorii Docte Ignorancie*. Printed by Van Steenberghe, *op. cit.*, but without reference to this copy. (5) ff. 233-35v. Vincentius de Aggsbach, *Replicatio contra Defensorium Laudatorii Docte Ignorancie*. Printed by Pez, *Thes. Anecd.* VI, 3, pp. 343-46. (6) ff. 221v.-23. Nicolaus de Cusa, *Apologia Docte Ignorancie*. Excerpts in Schlitpacher's hand, corresponding, with some omissions, to the text as edited by Dr. Klibansky (Lipsiae, 1932), pp. 5-21. (7) f. 232v. Note by Schlitpacher on the origin of this controversy on the *Theologia Mystica*, headed *Sequitur occasio premissi in hoc sexto libelli*. Printed by Pez, *op. cit.*, p. 342. (8) ff. 133-53v. Joannes Castellensis, O.S.B., *De fine religiose perfectionis et de modo fruendi Deo in presenti vita. Compilatus a fratre Iohanne, baccalario sacre theologie, monacho et professo monasterii Castellensis* [Kastl, near Ratisbon]. 1464. *Copiat in Mellico*. A treatise regarded until recently as by Albertus Magnus, under the title *De adherendo Deo*. (9) ff. 154-72v. Ib., *De natura, gracia et gloria et beatitudine in patria. In Castello compilatus. Mellici copiat*. Unprinted. (10) ff. 215v.-17, a report on certain false doctrines preached by the mendicant friars in the churches of Strassburg, about 1450. Beg. *De mandato speciali Reverendissimi in Christo patris et domini nostri domini Ruperti episcopi Argentinensis* [Rupert von Simmern, Bp. of Strassburg, 1440-78] *nos officiales*. Original binding of wooden boards covered with vellum. (Codex Mellicensis 356).

II. Written c. 1460-61. Contains: (1) ff. 1-23v. Nicolaus de Cusa, *De Visione Dei*. In the hand of Prior Schlitpacher. Of particular importance as being addressed to the abbot and monks of Tegernsee, the relationship of which to Melk was a very close one. (2) ff. 24-35. Ib., *Dyalogus ydiote et oratoris de sapientia*. (3) ff. 37-45. Bernardus de Waging, O.S.B., *Defensorium Laudatorii Docte Ignorancie*. (4) ff. 45v.-47v. Vincentius de Aggsbach, *Replicatio contra Defensorium Laudatorii Docte Ignorancie*. (5) f. 45. *Sequitur occasio premissi in hoc sexto libelli*. See above. (6) ff. 48-102. Marquardus Sprenger, *Apologia contra invectivam elucidationis*



*mistice theologie. Cum complemento.* Unpublished. Fuller than the only other known MS. (Codex lat. monacensis 18759). Original binding of wooden boards covered with pigskin. (Codex Mellicensis 843).

Other manuscript accessions include :

Legal Commonplace Book. Eighteenth century. Contains copies of early eighteenth-century documents relating to North and East Lancashire. (Presented by B. Stamp, Esq.)

Letters of John Mulso to Gilbert White of Selborne, 1744-1790. 233 letters, bound in two vols. (Presented by the Earl of Stamford.) See *D.N.B.*, s.v. White.

“Conclusions of the Four Synods of the Brethren’s Unity of the years 1764, 1769, 1775, 1782.” (Presented by the Moravian Union, through the Rev. J. N. Libbey.)

George III. Correspondence with William Pitt, 1783-87. Forty-one letters. Copies, mid-nineteenth century.

One hundred and thirty deeds and documents relating to properties in Kent, Lancashire, Suffolk and Yorkshire. Seventeenth-eighteenth century. (Presented by Dr. E. Bosdin Leech.)

Two Cheshire deeds. Eighteenth century. (Presented by R. S. France, Esq.)

Burney MSS. and letters. Comprising two autograph letters of Dr. Charles Burney (the musician), 1801 and 1810, to his son Charles and seven pages of notes in his handwriting ; two original poems in the hand of the second-named Charles (brother of Fanny Burney), addressed to his grand-daughter Fanny, with a letter (1814) to the same ; and two autograph letters of Charles Parr Burney (1841, 1860).

One hundred and seventy deeds and documents relating to lands in Lancashire and Cheshire. Seventeenth-twentieth centuries. (Deposited by the British Records Association.)

Commonplace-Book. Seventeenth-eighteenth cent. Contains extracts from Sessions records and receipts of various kinds, many in the hand of *old Officer Birch*, who presented the book to John Lowe in January, 1715. Includes a copy of a licence for Edmund Trafford, Esq., recusant, to travel to Buxton (1679) and a draft of an authorization for the levying of a tax to erect stocks and a rogues post in Eccles (1687). (Presented by R. S. France, Esq.)

Dugdale's Visitation of Cheshire, 1663-4. The last of the Heralds' Visitations of Cheshire, by Dugdale, took place in September, 1663, and July, 1664. The Visitation Book, "all fairely bound up in Russet Lether with Claspes," was delivered into the Office of Arms on 31 May, 1666, and still remains in the official custody of Garter King of Arms and his colleagues. The Rylands manuscript contains coats of arms only (over one hundred and seventy in Trick), no genealogies; but it is of interest as having belonged to Dugdale himself, who has entitled it "Armes of the Gentry of Cheshire, entred in the Visitation of that County made A° 1663 and 1664 by me William Dugdale, Esq<sup>r</sup>., Norroy King of Armes." The arms themselves do not appear to have been drawn by him, and are possibly the work of his "little clerk," Gregory King, who tricked other of his visitations. A number of notes throughout, however, are in Dugdale's hand, e.g. to Walley of Chester ('No prooffe made of this coat'), Wright of Nantwich ('No Armes produced'), Hulton of Chester ('No Armes proved, but a fictitious cote and crest drawn by [Randle] Holmes the paynter of Chester'), Thornycroft of Thornycroft ('A fictitious coat and crest produced, w<sup>ch</sup> was granted by Mr. [William] Ryley, who was Norroy in Cromwell's time'), Whittingham of Mooresbarrow ('No prooffe as yet of these Armes'). The Index, too, is apparently in his hand. Nothing is known of the history of the manuscript save that in 1664 it was given by Dugdale to Roger Wilbraham of Nantwich (f. 4), and that some one hundred and fifty years later it came into the possession of the well-known Cheshire antiquary, William Nicholls, F.S.A. (d. 1809), Deputy Registrar of Chester. It is in collections of Nicholls recently acquired by the Library that it has come to light.

The following titles represent a selection of the works added to the shelves of the library since the publication of our last issue :—

ART : BORRADAILE (V. and R.), "How to paint in Egg Tempera," 8vo; BUCHTHAL (Hugo), "The miniatures of the Paris Psalter: a study in Middle Byzantine Painting,"

GENERAL  
ACCESSIONS  
TO THE  
LIBRARY.



8vo ; HEUZEY (L.), "Histoire du costume dans l'antiquité classique : l'Orient, Égypte, Mésopotamie . . ." (1935), 4to ; HOBSON (G. D.), "Thirty bindings selected from the First Edition Club's Exhibition," (1926), 4to ; KENDRICK (T. D.), "Anglo-Saxon Art to A.D. 900," 8vo ; MONCEAUX (H.), "Les Le Rouge de Chablis, calligraphes et miniaturistes, graveurs et imprimeurs : étude sur les débuts de l'illustration du livre au XVe siècle" (1896), 2 vols., 8vo ; SWARZENSKI (H.), "Die Lateinischen Illuminierten Handschriften des 13 Jahrhunderts in den Ländern an Rhein, Main und Donau," 2 vols., Folio ; VENTURI (A.), "Storia dell' arte Italiana, vol. ii (1) : L'architettura del cinquecento," 8vo.

BIBLIOGRAPHY : BODLEIAN LIBRARY, "A summary catalogue of Western MSS., by F. Madan, H. H. E. Craster, etc., Vol. 2, part 2," 4to ; "CODICES GRAECI ET LATINI (Leiden), Supp. 10: Codex Monacensis qui continet precationem Wessofontanam," 4to ; "DIPLOMATA KAROLINORUM : recueil de reproductions en facsimilé des actes originaux des souverains Carolingiens, publié par F. Lot . . ., part 4 : Charles le Chauve (854-869)," Folio ; KRAMM (H.), "Deutsche Bibliotheken unter dem Einfluss von Humanismus und Reformation," 8vo ; "LIBRARY LITERATURE, 1933-1935 : an author and subject index-digest to current books, pamphlets and periodical literature relating to the library profession, edited by M. Shaw," 8vo ; MONUMENTA PALAEOGRAPHICA VETERA, series 1 : Dated Greek Minuscule MSS., to the year 1200, edited by Kirsopp and Silva Lake, vii : MSS. in Rome, part 1," Folio ; OXFORD BOOKS OF BIBLIOGRAPHY," The publishing firm of Cadell & Davis : select correspondence and accounts, 1793-1836, by Theodore Besterman," 4to ; PORT (W.), "Hieronymus Commelinus (1550-1597) : Leben und Werk eines Heidelberger Drucker Verlegers," 8vo ; RICCI (Seymour de), "Census of medieval and renaissance manuscripts in the United States and Canada, vol. 2," 4to ; TALVART (H.) and PLACE (J.), "Bibliographie des auteurs modernes de langue française (1801-1936)," 6 vols., 8vo.

HISTORY AND ARCHÆOLOGY : ARNTZ (H.), "Bibliographie des Runenkunde," 8vo ; ATHOS, "Archives de l'Athos, 1 : Actes de Laura, édition diplomatique et critique par G.

Bouillard et P. Collomb, tome 1 : 897-1178," 8vo ; BILABEL (F.), "Sammelbuch Griechischer Urkunden aus Aegypten," Band 5 (1)," 8vo ; BIRCH (J. H. S.), "Denmark in history," 8vo ; BRUCK (W. F.), "Social and economic history of Germany from William II to Hitler : 1888-1938," 8vo ; BURDACH (K.), "Vom Mittelalter zur Reformation, 3 : Der Dichter der der Ackermann aus Böhmen, hgbn. von A. Derndt und K. Burdach," 4 vols., 8vo ; CALMETTE (J.), "L'élaboration du monde moderne," 8vo ; CALMETTE (J.), "Le monde féodal," 8vo ; CAMBRIDGE, "Victoria History of the county of Cambridge and the Isle of Ely, vol. 1," 8vo ; CARRÉ (A.), "L'influence des Huguenots français en Irlande aux 17e et 18e siècles," 8vo ; CARTER (W. F.), "The Quatre-mains of Oxfordshire," 8vo ; CHAPIN (E.), "Les villes de foires de Champagne des origines au début du 14e siècle," 8vo ; CHARLES (B. G.), "Non-Celtic place-names in Wales," 8vo ; CURIE (Eve), "Madame Curie : a biography by her daughter," 8vo ; DEHÉRAIN (H.), "Silvestre de Sacy ; ses contemporains et ses disciples," 4to ; DEIMEL (A.), "Akkadisch Sumerisches Glossar," Folio ; DEIMEL (A.), "Sumerisch Akkadisches Glossar," Folio ; DELOS, "Inscriptions de Dèlos nos. 2220-2879, publiés par P. Roussel et M. Launey," Folio ; DENHOLM-YOUNG (N.), "Seignorial administration in England," 8vo ; DEXTER (T. F. G. and HENRY), "Cornish crosses, Christian and Pagan, with some observations on the Tau cross, Thor's Hammer, and the cult of the axe," 8vo ; DROUOT (H.) "Mayenne et La Bourgogne : étude sur la Ligue, 1587-1596," 2 vols., 8vo ; DUNHAM (W. H.), "The Fane Fragment of the 1461 Lords' Journal," 8vo ; ELDERSHAW (M. B.), "An account of the Settlement at Sydney Cove (1788-1792)," 8vo ; ESHER (Oliver, Viscount), "Journal and letters of Reginald, Viscount Esher," 3 vols., 8vo ; ESTIENNE (C.), "La Guide des chemins de France de 1553," 8vo ; FEILITZEN (O. von), "The pre-Conquest personal names of Domesday Book," 8vo ; GIBB (M. M.), "Lord Fairfax in the Civil War : reaction to loyalism," 8vo ; GLOTZ (Gustave), "Histoire de l'Orient," 2 vols., 8vo ; GLOTZ (Gustave), "Histoire Grecque," 2 vols., 8vo ; GLOTZ (Gustave), "Histoire Romaine," 4 vols., 8vo ; GLOTZ (Gustave), "Histoire du Moyen Age," 8 vols., 8vo ; GREAT WAR, "British Documents on the origins of the War,



1898-1914," 10 vols., 8vo ; HACKMAN (G. G.), " Temple documents of the Third Dynasty of Ur from Umma," 4to ; HARGRAVE (James), " Correspondence, 1821-1843 ; edited, with introduction and notes by G. P. de T. Glazebrook," 8vo ; HARROP (A. J.), " England and the Maori wars," 8vo ; HASKINS (G. L.) " The Statute of York and the interest of the Commons," 8vo ; IRELAND, " Calendar of the Ormond Deeds, vol. 4 : 1509-1547, edited by E. Curtis for the Irish MSS. Commission," 8vo ; IRELAND, " Facsimile . . . of the Book of Armagh : the Patrician documents, with introduction by E. Gwynn," 8vo ; IRELAND, " The Register of John Swayne, abp. of Armagh and Primate of Ireland, 1418-1439, with some entries of earlier and later archbishops, edited by D. A. Chart," 8vo ; IRELAND, " Report of the Deputy Keeper of Records of Northern Ireland, 1924-1936," 12 vols., 8vo ; JACOB (L.), " Robespierre vu par ses contemporains," 8vo ; JOHNSON (F. R.), " Astronomical Thought in Renaissance England : a study of the English scientific writings from 1500 to 1645," 8vo ; JOINVILLE (Jean, Sire de), " The history of St. Louis, translated by Joan Evans," 8vo ; JONES (A. H. M.), " The Herods of Judaea," 8vo ; KEITH (A. B.), " The king, the constitution and foreign affairs : letters and essays, 1936-1937," 8vo ; KERR (W. J. B.), " Higham Ferrers and its ducal and royal castle and park : a history of the medieval lordship and its manors " (1921-25), 8vo ; KIMBLE (G. H. T.), " Geography in the middle ages," 8vo ; LACHISH, " The Lachish Letters by Harry Torezyner and others," 8vo ; LEVENE (R.), " A history of Argentina, translated and edited by W. S. Robertson," 8vo ; LEVETT (A. E.), " Studies in manorial history, edited by H. M. Cann, M. Coats and L. S. Sutherland," 8vo ; MACHIN (Alfred), " Darwin's theory applied to mankind," 8vo ; MACKENESS (George), " Admiral Arthur Phillip, R.N., Founder of New South Wales, 1738-1814," 8vo ; " MAKERETI : the old-time Maori, collected and edited with a biography by T. K. Penniman of the Committee for Anthropology in the University of Oxford," 8vo ; MITCHELL (R. J.), " John Tiptoft, 1427-1470," 8vo ; MOLHUYSEN (P. C.) and KOSSMANN (K. H.), " Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek," 8vo ; MOUNT CARMEL, " The Stone Age of Mount Carmel : excavations at the Wady-

el-Mughara, by D. A. E. Garrod and D. M. A. Bate, vol. 1," 4to ; NORFOLK, "The chorography of Norfolk: an historicall and chorographical description of Norffolck, edited by C. M. Hood," 4to ; NORGATE (Kate), "John Lackland (1902)," 8vo ; PARKES (James), "The Jew in the medieval community: a study of his political and economic situation," 8vo ; POLO (Marco), "The description of the world: a transcription of the Latin codex in the Cathedral Library of Toledo, by A. C. Moule," 8vo ; POWICKE (F. M.), "History, freedom and religion (Riddell Memorial Lecture)," 8vo ; PRESS, "Report of the British Press: a survey of its current operations with special reference to national newspapers and their part in public affairs," 8vo ; RAMAKRISHNA, "The cultural heritage of India. Sri Ramakrishna Centenary Memorial," 3 vols., 8vo ; RAPPOPORT (A. S.), "The folk-lore of the Jews," 8vo ; REIMANN (G.), "Germany: world empire or world revolution," 8vo ; ROTH (Cecil), "The Jewish contribution to civilisation," 8vo ; SCHUSCHNIGG (Curt von), "Farewell Austria," 8vo ; SETON-WATSON (R. W.), "Britain and the Dictators: a survey of Post-War British Policy," 8vo ; SMITH (Sir Grafton Elliot), "A biographical record, by his colleagues, edited by W. R. Dawson," 8vo ; SOMMER (F.) and FALKENSTEIN (A.), "Die hethitische-akkadische Bilingue des Hattusili I," 4to ; TAYLOR (G.), "Environment, race and migration: fundamentals of human distribution," 8vo ; TEMPERLEY (H. W. V.) and PENSON (L. M.), "A century of Blue Books, 1814-1914," 8vo ; TENISON (E. M.), "Elizabethan England: being the history of this country 'In relation to all Foreign Princes'," 6 vols., 4to ; THOMPSON (J. M.), "English witnesses of the French Revolution," 8vo ; THOMPSON (A. Hamilton), "The Premonstratensian Abbey of Welbeck," 8vo ; TOYNBEE (A. J.), "Survey of International Affairs, 1936," 8vo ; VICTORIA, Queen of Great Britain, "Further letters, from the archives of the House of Brandenburg, Prussia, edited by H. Bolitho," 8vo ; VOIGT (F. A.), "Unto Caesar," 8vo ; VULLIAMY (C. E.), "Outlanders: a study of Imperial expansion in South Africa, 1877-1902," 8vo ; WATTS (Alan W.), "The legacy of Asia and Western Man," 8vo ; WHEARE (K. C.), "The Statute of Westminster and Dominion Status," 8vo.

LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE : "AMIS AND AMILOUN : medieval romance poem, edited by MacEdward Leach," 8vo ; ANTONGINI (Tomaso), "D'Annunzio," 8vo ; BAKELESS (John), "Christopher Marlowe," 8vo ; BELL (Aubrey F. G.), "Castilian literature," 8vo ; BLYTON (W. J.), "We are observed : a mirror of English character as reflected in literature," 8vo ; BOCCACCIO, "Early English Versions of the tales of Guiscardo and Ghismonda and Titus and Gisippus from the Decameron, edited by H. G. Wright," 8vo ; BORK (F.), "Das Ukirutische : die unbekannte Sprache von Ras Schamra," 8vo ; BRANDENBERG (E.), "Machiavelli und sein Principe," 8vo ; BRONTË (Emily), "Gondal poems, edited from the autograph MS. in the British Museum by H. Brown and J. Mott," 8vo ; COLERIDGE (Samuel Taylor), "The political thought of S. T. Coleridge, edited with an introduction by R. J. White," 8vo ; DANTE ALIGHIERI, "The Inferno translated into English terza rima verse, with introduction and notes by Lacy Lockert," 8vo ; DOBRÉE (B.), "Introduction to English literature," 4 vols., 8vo ; DUNSANY (Lord), "Patches of sunlight : the evolution of a writer," 8vo ; DREW (E.), "Discovering drama," 8vo ; DUGGAN (Eileen), "Poems, with introduction by Walter de la Mare," 8vo ; FEUGÈRE (A.), "Le mouvement religieux dans la littérature du 17e siècle," 8vo ; GANDON (Yves), "Le démon du style," 8vo ; GILBERT (A. H.), "Machiavelli's Prince and its forerunners," 8vo ; GOLDING (L. T.), "An Elizabethan Puritan : Arthur Golding the translator of Ovid's 'Metamorphoses,' and also John Calvin's 'Sermons,'" 8vo ; GRANDGENT (C. H.), "From Latin to Italian : an historical outline of the phonology and morphology of the Italian language," 8vo ; HANSON (Laurence), "The life of S. T. Coleridge," 8vo ; HARBAGE (A.), "Cavalier drama : an historical and critical supplement to the study of the Elizabethan and Restoration Stage," 8vo ; HOPKINS (G. Manley), "Further letters including the correspondence with Coventry Patmore, edited with notes and an introduction by C. C. Abbott," 8vo ; JONES (Wm. Powell), "Thomas Gray, scholar," 8vo ; JONSON (Ben), "Works, edited by C. H. Herford and Percy and Evelyn Simpson," vols. 1 to 6, 8vo ; JORDAN (Jorgu), "An introduction to Romance, linguistics : its schools



and scholars, revised and translated by John Orr," 8vo ; KAHN (L. W.), "Shakespeare's Sonette in Deutschland: Versuch einer literarischen Typologie," 8vo ; KÖRTE (A.), "Die Menschen Menanders," 8vo ; LEAR (Edward) "Landscape painter and poet of nonsense," 8vo ; LHANDÉ (P.), "Dictionnaire Basque-Français," 8vo ; "THE LINK: a review of medieval and modern Greek, edited by Nicholas Bachtin," 8vo ; MCCLELLAND (I. L.), "The origins of the Romantic Movement in Spain," 8vo ; MACKAIL (J. W.), "Studies in Humanism," 8vo ; MALALASEKERA (G. P.), "Dictionary of Pāli proper names, vols. 1-2," 8vo ; MANN (S. E.), "A historical Albanian and English Dictionary," 8vo ; MARSTON (John), "Plays, edited from the earliest texts with introduction and notes by H. Harvey Wood," 2 vols., 8vo ; MASSOULARD (E.), "Die romantischen Elemente in Arnold Bennett," 8vo ; MILTON (John), "Complete poetry and selected prose, with English metrical translations of the Latin, Greek and Italian poems, edited by E. H. Visiak," 8vo ; MOLINET (Jean), "Les faictz et dictz de Jean Molinet: publiés par N. Dupire," 2 vols., 8vo ; MORNET (D.), "Histoire de la littérature et de la pensée françaises contemporaines 1870-1934," 8vo ; MUSSET (G.), "Glossaire des patois et des parlers de l'Aunis et de la Saintonge, tome 4," 8vo ; NESTLE (W.), "Der Friedengedanke in der antiken Welt," 8vo ; O'FAOLÁIN (Seán), "The Silver Branch: an anthology of Irish poetry selected with an introduction by S. O'Faolain," 8vo ; "OXFORD Book of Greek Verse in translation, edited by T. F. Higham and C. M. Bowra," 8vo ; PALMER (Herbert), "Post-Victorian poetry: a critical history of English poetry in the twentieth century," 8vo ; PIDAL (R. Menéndez), "Manual de grámatica histórica Española," 8vo ; PORTEAU (P.), "Montaigne et la vie pédagogique de son temps," 8vo ; POWELL (J. Enoch), "A lexicon to Herodotus," 8vo ; ROQUES (M.), "Recueil général des lexiques français du moyen âge, 12e-15e siècle," 8vo ; RUDLER (M. G.), "Parnassiens symbolistes et décadents: esquisse historique," 8vo ; SMYTH (Dame Ethyl), "Maurice Baring," 8vo ; THOMSON (Walter), "The sonnets of Shakespeare and Southampton," 8vo ; TILLYARD (E. M. W.), "The Miltonic setting, past and present," 8vo ; TILLYARD (E. M. W.), "Shakespeare's last plays," 8vo ;

TOUMANOVA (Princess N. A.), "Anton Chekhov," 8vo ;  
 TOURTELLOT (A. Bernon), "Be loved no more : the life and  
 environment of Fanny Burney," 8vo ; WHITE (Newman I.),  
 "The unextinguished Hearth : Shelley and his contemporary  
 critics," 8vo ; WRIGHT (F. A.), "Three Roman poets : Plautus,  
 Catullus and Ovid," 8vo ; YEATS (W. B.), "New poems," 8vo ;  
 YVON (Paul), "Les crises de la morale et de la moralité dans  
 l'histoire de la civilisation et de la littérature des pays Anglo-  
 Saxons," 8vo.

PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION : ALEXANDER (J. P.),  
 "A priest for ever : a study of the Epistle entitled 'To the  
 Hebrews,'" 8vo ; ALLPORT (Gordon W.), "Personality : a  
 psychological interpretation," 8vo ; "BAR HEBRAEUS ; intro-  
 duction aux œuvres philosophiques par Herman F. Janssens,"  
 8vo ; BARNES (A. Stapylton), "Christianity at Rome in the  
 Apostolic Age : an attempt at reconstruction of history," 8vo ;  
 BARRY (Canon F. R.), "What has Christianity to say ?" 8vo ;  
 BAXTER (Richard), "Naked popery (1677)," 4to ; BAXTER  
 (Richard), "Penitent confession and his necessary vindication  
 (1691)," 4to ; BAXTER (Richard), "Roman tradition examined  
 (1677)," 4to ; BIBLE : DUTCH, "De Nederlandsche Staten-  
 bijbel 1637-1937 : Artikelen overgenomen uit Nederlandsch  
 Archief voor Kerkgeschiedens," 8vo ; BINON (S.), "Essai sur  
 le cycle de Saint Mercure : martyr de Dèce et meurtrier de  
 l'Empereur Julien," 8vo ; CHARLES (H.), "Le Christianisme  
 des Arabes nomades sur le limes et dans le désert syro-méso-  
 potamien, aux alentours de l'hégire," 8vo ; "CHURCH COM-  
 MUNITY AND STATE in relation to Education ; the report of the  
 Conference at Oxford, July, 1937," 8 vols., 8vo ; CLARK (K. W.),  
 "A descriptive catalogue of Greek New Testament manuscripts  
 in America," 8vo ; CLEMEN (C.), "Lukians Schrift über die  
 syrische Göttin," 8vo ; COOK (Stanley A.), "The 'Truth' of  
 the Bible," 8vo ; CORPUS BASILICARUM CHRISTIANARUM ROMAE,  
 "The early Christian Basilicas of Rome IV-XI cent.," Folio ;  
 COULTON (G. G.), "Inquisition and liberty : a social history of  
 the Inquisition in Europe with a topical examination of the  
 inquisitorial attitude of mind," 8vo ; DUDLEY (D. R.), "A  
 history of cynicism from Diogenes to the sixth century A.D."

8vo ; DÜRR (Lorenz), "Die Wertung des Göttlichen Wortes im Alten Testament und im antiken Orient, zugleich ein Beitrag zur Vorgeschichte des N. T. Logosbegriffes," 8vo ; EHRENSTRÖM (Nils), "Christian Faith and the Modern State: an œcumenical approach ; translated by D. Patrick and O. Wyon, with preface by J. H. Oldham," 8vo ; EINSTEIN (A.) and INFELD (L.), "The evolution of physics," 8vo ; EISLER (Robert), "The enigma of the Fourth Gospel," 8vo ; ERASMUS, "Opus epistolarum . . . denuo recognitum et auctum per P. S. Allen et H. W. Garrod, tomus 9: 1530-1532," 8vo ; ERHARD (A.), "Ueberlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der Griechischen Kirche von den Anfängen bis Ende des 16 Jhdts," 8vo ; FLEW (R. N.), "Jesus and His Church (Fernley-Hartley Lecture, 1938)," 8vo ; GARDNER-SMITH (P.), "The Christ of the Gospels: a study of the Gospel records in the light of critical research," 8vo ; GARVIE (A. E.), "Christian moral conduct," 8vo ; GARVIE (A. E.), "Memories and meanings of my life," 8vo ; GILSON (E.), "La philosophie au moyen âge de Scot Érigène à G. d'Occam," 8vo ; GREENFIELD (William), Abp. of York, "Register, 1306-1315, edited by W. Brown and A. H. Thompson," 8vo ; GUIGO, "Meditationes Guigonis Cartusiae prioris édition complète avec traduction par A. Wilmar," 8vo ; HERTZ (J. H.), "Sermons, addresses and studies of the Chief Rabbi," 3 vols., 8vo ; HEYWOOD (Bp. Bernard), "This is our faith: an explanation of the articles of the Christian faith as contained in the Apostles' Creed," 8vo ; HODGES (J. P.), "The influence and implications of the Reformation," 8vo ; HUDSON (C. E.) and RECKITT (M. B.), "The Church and the World: being materials for the historical study of Christian sociology," 8vo ; HULBERT-POWELL (C. L.), "John James Wettstein, 1693-1754," 8vo ; HUSAIN (Itrat), "The dogmatic and mystical theology of John Donne," 8vo ; INDIA, "The cultural heritage of India Sri Ramakrishna Centenary Memorial," 3 vols., 8vo ; JANELLE (P.), "L'Angleterre catholique à la veille du schisme," 8vo ; JENKINS (R. T.), "The Moravian Bretheren in North Wales: an episode of religious history in Wales," 8vo ; JOAD (C. E. M.), "Guide to the philosophy of morals and politics," 8vo ; JOLY (A.), "Un mystique Lyonnais et les secrets de



la franc-maçonnerie, 1730-1824," 8vo ; JONES (A. H. M.), "The Herods of Judaea," 8vo ; KRUSCH (B.), "Studien zur christlich-mittelalterlichen Chronologie," 4to ; LAKE (Kirsopp), "Quantulacumque ; studies presented to Kirsopp Lake by his pupils, colleagues and friends, edited by R. P. Casey, S. Lake and A. K. Lake," 8vo ; LAKE (Kirsopp and S.), "An introduction to the New Testament," 8vo ; LIGHTFOOT (R. H.), "Locality and doctrine in the Gospels," 8vo ; LINCOLN (A.), "Some political and social ideas of English Dissent, 1763-1800," 8vo ; LLOYD (Roger), "Revolutionary religion : Christianity, Fascism, and Communism," 8vo ; LOISY (A.), "Histoire et mythe à propos de Jésus Christ," 8vo ; MACAULAY (A. B.), "The death of Jésus in three aspects," 8vo ; MACDONALD (A. J.), "God, creation and revelation (Boyle Lectures, 1935-1936)," 8vo ; MACDONALD (F. C.), "A history of confirmation from the first to the twentieth century," 8vo ; MANDONNET (P.), "Saint Dominique : l'idée, l'homme, et l'oeuvre," 2 vols., 8vo ; MARROU (H. I.), "Saint Augustin et la fin de la culture antique," 8vo ; MAYCOCK (A. L.), "Nicholas Ferrar of Little Gidding," 8vo ; MINA (Togo), "Le Martyre d'Apa Epima, from the Sahidic MS. in the Pierpont Morgan Library," 4to ; MOFFATT (James), "The first five centuries of the Church," 8vo ; NOCK (A. Darby), "St. Paul," 8vo ; OCCAM (G. d'), "Breviloquium de Potestate Papae : édition critique par L. Baudry," 8vo ; OCCAM (G. d'), "Le tractatus de Principiis theologiae . . . édition critique par L. Baudry," 8vo ; OESTERLEY (W. O. E.), "Ancient Hebrew poems, metrically translated with introduction and notes," 8vo ; O'LEARY (De Lacy), "The saints of Europe," 8vo ; OTTO (Rudolf), "The Kingdom of God and the Son of Man, translated by F. V. Filson and B. L. Woolf," 8vo ; PAULEY (W. C. de), "The candle of the Lord : Studies of the Cambridge Platonists," 8vo ; PEAKE (A. S.), "Recollections and appreciations, edited by D. F. Howard," 8vo ; PERKINS (J.), "Westminster Abbey, its worship and ornaments (Alcuin Club Collections)," 8vo ; PHYTHIAN-ADAMS (W. J.), "The fullness of Israel," 8vo ; POEHL-MANN (H.), "Die Metanoia als Zentralbegriff der Christlichen Frömmigkeit," 8vo ; RADIN (Paul), "Primitive religion : its nature and origin," 8vo ; RATTENBURY (J. E.), "The conversion

of the Wesleys : a critical study," 8vo ; SCHOFIELD (J. N.), "The historical background of the Bible," 8vo ; STOCKS (J. L.), "Time, cause, and eternity. Foreword by the Archbishop of York," 8vo ; STUART (G.), "The achievement of personality, in the light of psychology and religion, with introduction by L. Grenstead," 8vo ; SULLIVAN (J. W. N.), "Isaac Newton, 1642-1727, with a memoir of the author by C. Singer," 8vo ; SYKES (Norman), "The crisis of the Reformation," 8vo ; TUKER (M. A. R.), "Past and future of Ethics," 8vo ; USHENKO (A. P.), "The philosophy of relativity," 8vo ; VIEILLARD (J.), "Le Guide du Pèlerin de Saint-Jacques de Compostelle," 8vo ; WHITE (L. T.), "Latin monasticism in Norman Sicily," 8vo ; WHITHAM (A. E.), "The discipline and culture of the Spiritual life," 8vo ; WHITELEY (J. H.), "Wesley's England," 8vo ; WORLD CONGRESS OF FAITH, "The world's need of religion, being the proceedings of the Congress at Oxford, July 23-27, 1937," 8vo.

SOCIOLOGY : ALLEN (J. W.), "English political thought, 1603-1660," 8vo ; CLAPHAM (J. H.), "An economic history of modern Britain, 3 : Machines and national rivalries, 1887-1914, with an epilogue, 1914-1920," 8vo ; COLERIDGE (Samuel Taylor), "The political thought . . . edited with an introduction by R. J. White," 8vo ; HALDANE (J. B. S.), "Heredity and politics," 8vo ; HORKHEIMER (Max), "Studien über Autorität und Familie," 8vo ; JONES (M. G.), "The Charity School Movement : a study of eighteenth century Puritanism in action," 8vo ; LANDTMAN (G.), "The origin of the inequality of the social classes," 8vo ; LODGE (E. C.), "Terms and Vacations, edited by Janet Spens," 8vo ; MACADAM (E.), "The new philanthropy : a study in the relations between the statutory and voluntary social services," 8vo ; MADARIAGA (Salvador de), "The world's design," 8vo ; SIMON (Sir E. D.), and others, "Constructive democracy," 8vo ; SIMON (Lady S. D.), "A century of City Government : Manchester, 1838-1938," 8vo ; TAYLOR (G.), "Environment, race and migration," 8vo ; UNEMPLOYMENT, "Men without work : a report made to the Pilgrim Trust, with an introduction by the Archbishop of York," 8vo.

The following is a list of benefactors to the Library since the publication of our last issue, to each of whom we renew our grateful thanks for their welcome gifts. GIFTS TO  
THE LIBRARY.

*(The figures in brackets denote the number of volumes included in their gifts.)*

C. L. Barnes, Esq., M.A. [1]	Miss E. Lister [1]
Professor H. B. Charlton, M.A. [1]	Dr. W. I. Morse [1]
Davidson Cook, Esq. [3]	Sir Christopher T. Needham, J.P. [2]
Brig.-Gen. E. A. Cruickshank [1]	F. J. Nettlefold, Esq. [1]
Dr. Robert Eisler [1]	The Misses Newton [1]
Manby A. Gibson, Esq. [1]	Dr. O. Reser [1]
Sir Harold Harmsworth [1]	L. Schuyler, Esq. [1]
W. M. Hugill, Esq. [1]	Professor Margaret P. Sherwood [1]
Sir Alfred J. Law, M.P. [1]	Blanshard Stamp, Esq. [1]
The Librarian [2]	J. G. Tait, Esq. [1]

Aberdeen : The University [1]  
 American Antiquarian Society [1]  
 Messrs. Bell & Sons, Ltd. [1]  
 Bogotá : Biblioteca Nacional [1]  
 British Academy [2]  
 British Museum [5]  
 Canada : Dominion Bureau of Statistics [1]  
 Canada : Public Archives of Canada [1]  
 Messrs. Cheney & Sons, Banbury [1]  
 Clark University, Worcester, Mass. [14]  
 Copenhagen : The Royal Library [6]  
 Cornell University Library [1]  
 Cracow : Polska Akademia Umiejętności [2]  
 Duke University, Durham, North Carolina [2]  
 Edinburgh : The University [1]  
 E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Trustees [1]  
 Florence : R. Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale [1]  
 Foreign Office [1]  
 Gothenburg : The University [2]  
 Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery [1]



- Hispanie Society of America [1]  
India : The India Office [1]  
India : The High Commissioner for India [2]  
Iowa : The University [1]  
Ireland : The National Library of Ireland [1]  
Japan : Japanese Government Railways [1]  
Johnson Club [1]  
Kansas : The University [1]  
Leipzig : The University [20]  
Lund : The University [2]  
Manchester : Association for Monastic Research [1]  
Manchester Corporation [1]  
Manchester : The University [1]  
Massachusetts : The Historical Society [1]  
Michigan : The University of [4]  
Milan : Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore [5]  
New York : The Public Library [3]  
New York : The University of [12]  
New Zealand : The High Commissioner for [1]  
Oregon : The University of [1]  
Pápá, Hungary : The Reformed College [9]



From the original in the Dean and Chapter Library, Canterbury, C. 3, with the permission of the Dean and Chapter.  
Dimensions 11" by 3.6" and 2.7".



## ANGLO - SAXON CHARTERS AND THE HISTORIAN.

BY MISS F. E. HARMER, M.A.

LECTURER IN ENGLISH IN THE UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER.

NEARLY<sup>1</sup> a century has now elapsed since J. M. Kemble by the publication of the *Codex Diplomaticus*<sup>2</sup> first threw open to students of our early law and history the immense store of Old English charters. Kemble himself, in *The Saxons in England* (London, 1849), was one of the first to demonstrate how charters could be utilised to fill in some of the blanks in our knowledge left by the records of the chroniclers, and to illustrate by means of instances drawn from the charters the operation of the Old English legal codes in daily life. Freeman's debt to Old English charters was perhaps even greater. He frequently used charter evidence to correct the chronology of the chroniclers and he showed how indispensable is that evidence for tracing the careers of some of those who lived in the England of the Norman Conquest. Stubbs, Maitland and Vinogradoff made constant and extensive use of Old English charters, while Professor Stenton has gone further and has shown how the evidence of charters may be used to supplement and correct the records of the history of monastic foundations, to trace the history and distribution of place names and personal names, and to throw light on some of the darkest periods in early English history.

<sup>1</sup> The writer would like to acknowledge her debt to the help and criticism of Professor Stenton, Dr. H. M. Cam, and the late, deeply regretted, Professor E. V. Gordon.

<sup>2</sup> *Codex Diplomaticus Ævi Saxonici*, 6 vols. (London, 1839-1848). References to the charters in Kemble's codex will be given here as K. followed by the number of the charter. References will also be given to the *Diplomatarium Anglicum Ævi Saxonici* of Benjamin Thorpe (London, 1865) and to the *Handbook to the Land Charters, and other Saxon Documents* of John Earle (Oxford, 1888).

The proper use of charter evidence obviously involves, on the part of the historian, the power to distinguish between the authentic and the spurious. It has long been realised that Latin charters are of varying degrees of authenticity, but the genuineness as a class of charters in the vernacular has sometimes been taken too much for granted, so that when an Anglo-Saxon charter has come under review, the investigation of its authenticity has tended to be merely perfunctory. Possibly this has been due in part to the fact that Kemble rarely affixed his 'critical asterisk' to charters in Anglo-Saxon, virtually abandoning in his fourth volume, in which many Anglo-Saxon charters appear, his system of discrimination.<sup>1</sup> Another contributory factor may have been the comparative rarity of charters of dubious authenticity among those Anglo-Saxon charters that happen to have been edited in modern editions.<sup>2</sup> Charters in the vernacular comprise grants and leases of land, wills, narratives of the history of individual estates, records of lawsuits and agreements, manumissions of serfs and releases from services, letters, inventories, and documents of other kinds which it would be difficult to class in any of these categories. More than a hundred belong to that type of charter known as the 'writ,' a kind of instrument that comes into prominence in the eleventh century—in its essence a sealed letter addressed by the king to the officers and suitors of the shire-court to inform them of business that had been transacted. The interest and importance of these vernacular charters to the student of early English history is obvious, but it is necessary to discriminate. Anglo-Saxon charters are not exempt from the possibility of alteration, interpolation and fabrication. It is therefore proposed to discuss the criteria by which the authenticity of Anglo-Saxon charters can be tested, and to apply them to a small group

<sup>1</sup> See Kemble *op. cit.* iv, p. vi. Kemble's stars are, of course, frequently worthless and misleading.

<sup>2</sup> Editions are: A. S. Napier and W. H. Stevenson, *The Crawford Collection of Early Charters and Documents* (Oxford, 1895), including both Latin and Anglo-Saxon charters; F. E. Harmer, *Select English Historical Documents of the Ninth and Tenth Centuries* (Cambridge, 1914); D. Whitelock, *Anglo-Saxon Wills* (Cambridge, 1930). Dr. A. J. Robertson has in preparation an edition of over 130 Anglo-Saxon charters, while the present writer is at work on an edition of writs, in the vernacular and in Latin versions.

of charters : one, a Canterbury charter which appears to have escaped the notice of Joseph Hall and of others<sup>1</sup> who have examined the affiliations of the Old English and early Norman writs in favour of Christchurch, Canterbury ; the others, four charters that have been used of late by historians.

The history of the king's household in England and the names and functions of its officers were the subject of a study by Professor L. M. Larson.<sup>2</sup> With two only of the questions raised in this book are we concerned here, the date of the first mention in English sources of the royal official known as the 'staller' (OE *steallere*), and the possibility that the title *cancellarius* was applied to the king's priest Regenbald<sup>3</sup> during the reign of the Confessor. As to the staller, Professor Larson remarks (p. 147) that in English sources 'this official appears for the first time in one of Cnut's charters (K. 1327) ; the document is undated but was probably given in the year 1032,' and he points out in a footnote that this charter bears the signatures of two bishops (of different sees) of whom one died in 1032, the year in which the other received his appointment. As to the attribution to Regenbald of the title of *cancellarius*, Professor Larson states (p. 144) that his name and title occur in 'a document drawn up in the Saxon idiom and apparently above suspicion' (K. 891), which is witnessed, among others, by Rengebold *cancheler*. Professor Larson's view that K. 891 is 'apparently above suspicion' appears to be based on a statement found in a footnote appended to one of his articles by that great authority, the late W. H.

<sup>1</sup> Hall, *Early Middle English* (Oxford, 1920), part ii, 264 f. ; G. F. Warner and H. J. Ellis, *Facsimiles of Royal and other Charters in the British Museum*, vol. i (1903), no. 6.

<sup>2</sup> *The King's Household in England before the Norman Conquest* (Wisconsin, 1904).

<sup>3</sup> The spelling Regenbald, which occurs in a charter of William I (*Archaeologia*, vol. xxvi (1836), p. 256), is the form used generally by historians in speaking of the Confessor's famous priest, on whom see DNB. and Round, *Feudal England*, p. 421 ff. The usual spelling in Domesday Book is Rain-, Reinbald(us), see O. von Feilitzen, *The Pre-Conquest Personal Names of Domesday Book* (Uppsala, 1937), p. 347. The form Reinbold also occurs in DB. and is to be found in charters (*Archaeologia*, loc. cit.). The spelling Reimbaldus is also recorded. The spellings in the two charters under consideration here are Rengebold and Ræimballd. The name is continental Germanic.



Stevenson.<sup>1</sup> But the extreme compression of Stevenson's verdict on this charter, which he describes as 'a twelfth century copy of a Winchester writ of Edward's, which is presumably genuine, although badly copied,' makes it doubtful whether he had realised how abnormal a feature is the list of witnesses appended to it; and it is unfortunate that Stevenson should on the same occasion have given a qualified verdict in favour of another Winchester charter (B.M. Cotton Charter x. 17) in which the name of Ræimballd *cancell*' is included among the witnesses, for the authenticity of this charter (which will be discussed below) is, in fact, in the highest degree doubtful. There is no difficulty in supposing that a foreign clerk<sup>2</sup> who was head of the king's secretariat—and Regenbald may well have held such a position—may have described himself as *cancellarius*; but the evidence of these two charters should not be appealed to for the usage of the Confessor's reign.<sup>3</sup> Nor, again, is it possible to accept as authentic in its present form the list of witnesses in the charter cited by Professor Larson for the first mention of the staller in English sources.

The statements that 'Regenbald appears in a reputable English charter as Regenbold *cancheler*,' and that the staller 'first appears in a charter of the year 1032' have recently been given a wide currency by Mr. J. E. A. Jolliffe in his notable volume, *The Constitutional History of Medieval England* (London, 1937), pp. 133, 134. Another citation of Mr. Jolliffe's is almost

<sup>1</sup> *E[nglish] H[istorical] R[evue]*, vol. xi (1896), p. 732, footnote.

<sup>2</sup> That Regenbald was a foreigner is, of course, a deduction from his name.

<sup>3</sup> Evidence in contemporary charters is lacking for the reign of the Confessor. Professor Larson (p. 144) cites a Latin grant of lands to Harold (K. 813), dated 1062, witnessed by *Regenbaldus regis cancellarius*. But, as Professor Stenton has pointed out to me, although the witnesses seem to form a possible series, their titles are given with much more particularity than in any other OE charter, and it would be difficult to find an OE parallel to the long list of witnesses of the second or third rank, each of whom is described as *princeps*. One cannot help suspecting that a genuine set of witnesses has been improved by the addition of descriptions to the names of individuals, and that this was done by someone familiar with Norman usage. The confirmation of a long series of estates in a set form of words, as in this charter, was not the usual practice of OE charter writers, and raises of itself the suspicion that this text (the Waltham charter) is a post-Conquest fabrication.

as dubious. It is not easy to believe that the charter which he cites, to demonstrate that the royal prerogative known as the 'pleas of the crown' was a concept 'as fully realized' before the Norman Conquest 'as it was to be for a generation after it,' is, as he assumes (p. 111), a charter of the Confessor. Since there is a likelihood that his book will be used not only as a manual of constitutional history but also as a work of reference, it seems worth while to examine at some length the evidence for the authenticity of the charters on which his statements are based, lest by force of repetition they come to be accepted as a matter of course, and, for the same reason, it appears desirable to criticise some of his translations of passages in charters and other Anglo-Saxon texts.

What, then, are the tests of authenticity that can be applied to any individual Anglo-Saxon charter? In Kemble's opinion (*op. cit.* vol. iv, p. vi), almost the only test that can be successfully applied to charters in the vernacular is that of 'anachronism.' He laid, however, considerable stress on 'genuine forms,' remarking that instruments in the vernacular tongue 'bear along with themselves the surest test of authenticity.' The language, he says, is (as might be expected from the fact, that many documents have come down to us only in later transcripts) 'of very various degrees of impurity, but the genuine forms are not to be mistaken, and cannot be unrecognized, in spite of the careless transcribers of monastic chartularies.' But Kemble did not mention a consideration of great importance, namely, the possibility that documents might be tampered with or even fabricated within the Old English period itself, or during that period subsequent to the Norman Conquest during which Anglo-Saxon was still a familiar style of writing. There seems very little doubt that well into the twelfth century in some religious houses, at Winchester, for instance, and perhaps even later at Canterbury, Anglo-Saxon was still (in some degree) known. The twelfth century cartulary of Winchester known as the Codex Wintoniensis (B.M. Addit. MS. 15,350) contains certain Anglo-Saxon charters of dubious authenticity (one of which is discussed below, p. 351), the spuriousness of which it would not be possible to demonstrate on linguistic grounds alone. Linguistic criteria

are of course of the first importance, though they have frequently been neglected. They are difficult to apply, since they demand not only an ability to translate Anglo-Saxon, but also some familiarity with the language at its various stages of development, and with its dialects, as well as the power to discriminate between the various linguistic strata that a document that has passed through the hands of copyists may exhibit. Peculiarities of syntax, too, may have their importance. Anglo-Saxon as we find it in the charters had its own idiomatic twists and turns of phrase, and a document which departs widely from the customary idiom may be for that reason suspect.

Another criterion to be mentioned here is that of handwriting. If a charter is in a hand that can be demonstrated to be that of the period to which the document would be assigned on linguistic grounds and on grounds of content, the odds in favour of its authenticity would be greatly increased. But the test of the date of the hand cannot in itself be decisive. Some charters, the authenticity of which we have no reason to doubt, have come down to us only in later copies. On the other hand, scholars are now less disposed than were their predecessors to declare that any given charter is an 'original.' The phrase 'contemporary copy, or 'contemporary parchment,' is preferred.

The test of the spuriousness of documents in the vernacular on which Kemble laid the greatest stress, namely that of 'anachronism,' is sometimes easier to apply. The most obvious case of anachronism would be the introduction into a charter of the name of some person whose dates were clearly incompatible with the presumed date of the document. But in fact, obvious anachronisms are in Anglo-Saxon charters not numerous, and when they are not obvious they are not easy to detect. Our knowledge of the institutions and usages of the period is to a large extent based on the charters themselves. And even the detection of anachronisms in date is not so simple as might at first sight appear. For the dates of the accession of bishops to their sees or of earls to their earldoms, we are (when the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle does not give a clear indication of date) frequently almost entirely dependent upon the occurrence of their signatures in charters, and these may, or may not, be authentic.



Sometimes a knowledge of the historical background of a charter or group of charters may help us to reach a conclusion as to the probability of alteration or of fabrication. The knowledge that the overlordship of the manor of Aldenham in Hertfordshire was for many years a subject of dispute between the abbot of Westminster and the abbot of St. Albans might affect our opinion as to the authenticity of the Aldenham charters of Westminster Abbey (K. 149, 827). On the other hand, it may on occasion prove difficult to reconcile the history of an estate as it is set out in a charter with what we can gather as to its history from sources such as Domesday Book. But it would be hazardous to base our doubts as to the authenticity of any particular charter on such discrepancies alone. Domesday Book is not to be regarded as a complete manorial history even for the limited period that it covers, and between the date of the charter in question and 1086, the land may have been sold, exchanged or disposed of in some other way, even in those cases (by no means the majority) in which we have complete certainty that the two estates were identical.

The proportion of Anglo-Saxon grants, leases, agreements, wills and the like, of dubious authenticity, is not large, but with those documents that are to be classified as writs, the possibility of interpolation, improvement, embellishment, and even of fabrication, must be constantly borne in mind. The writs that have survived are concerned, for the most part, with the notification of grants of lands and liberties to ecclesiastics and religious houses. It is known that many religious foundations did in truth possess estates and rights that they asserted to have been conferred on them by kings such as Cnut and Edward the Confessor, who were famed for their liberality to the church. In some cases, they remained in possession of lands and privileges until the Dissolution. That Cnut and Edward the Confessor throughout their reigns made extensive grants to monasteries, and that these grants were notified by writ to the shire-courts, is quite beyond doubt, but the conditions in which these writs were preserved and handed down afforded, at every stage, opportunities for alteration of the texts. Writs in their favour issued by the king's secretariat were preserved in the monasteries

themselves, and they were copied and re-copied into the monastic registers. The temptation to tamper with the text of an existing writ, or even, on occasion, to construct a new one, must have been very great. These writs purport to notify the conferment of possessions and rights of the most important and lucrative kind, and the documents safeguarding these rights were jealously preserved. The evidence of writs of the Confessor is frequently appealed to in Domesday Book.<sup>1</sup> From time to time after the Conquest the writs and charters of a monastery were inspected by royal officials when an abbot found himself under the necessity of defending his claims or when he had established his right to have his privileges confirmed by a new king. It is not hard to imagine that, in case of dispute, the community may have taken steps, by the interpolation or the alteration of an existing writ, to strengthen their claim to a right that they were known to possess. The existence of one writ alleged to have been false is noted in Domesday Book itself.<sup>2</sup> There can be no question that after the Norman Conquest interest in writs of the Confessor was long maintained.

To these instruments, however, we can apply a further test of authenticity, namely, 'common form.' Writs bearing the name of King Edward are sufficiently numerous—there are over eighty extant—for us to be able to determine with some degree of certainty what was (at any rate in outline) the normal form of the Edwardian writ. It was an undated document in English, bearing the king's seal, short and business-like, written in an informal style, but employing legal phraseology, in which the king addressed the bishop, the earl, the sheriff<sup>3</sup> and the thegns of the shire and informed them of a grant or of an appointment that he had made, or to which he had given his consent. This is the form of those writs that have on diplomatic, palæographical and linguistic grounds the highest claims to be considered

<sup>1</sup> For references to King Edward's 'writ and seal' see Vinogradoff, *English Society in the Eleventh Century*, p. 221 f.

<sup>2</sup> See the entry (DB. ii. 14) concerning *Phantuna* (Fanton) in Essex. The manor is entered under the land of St. Peter of Westminster, but it is stated that this land is claimed for the king's use on the ground that it came to the church *per falsum breuem*.

<sup>3</sup> The sheriff is sometimes omitted.

genuine.<sup>1</sup> For two writs, at least, it would not be unreasonable to suggest that they may be the actual documents issued by the clerks of King Edward's secretariat. One is a Worcester writ,<sup>2</sup> the other is one of two Perton writs preserved at Westminster Abbey.<sup>3</sup> Several other writs should in all probability be added to this select class, for example, a grant of sac and soke to Westminster Abbey.<sup>4</sup> But the same form appears again in writs now surviving only in copies, the great majority being preserved in cartularies of various dates, from Bury St. Edmunds, Wells, Ely, York and many other places. The subjects dealt with in the writs are limited in range, and the vocabulary employed is to some extent stereotyped.

Grants of sac and soke and of the proceeds of certain categories of justice are frequent among the royal gifts notified in writs. Two Anglo-Saxon writs of Christchurch, Canterbury, purporting to grant such rights to Archbishop Stigand and the community at Christchurch, are to be found among the writs that bear the name of the Confessor. Of these one is B.M. Campbell Charter xxi, 5, a document of which only the first three lines have a reasonable claim to be considered contemporary with the transaction that they record; the remainder of the writ is written in a different hand over an erasure.<sup>5</sup> The other does not seem to have been noticed hitherto, although a (not quite literal) Latin version has been printed.<sup>6</sup> It is preserved in the Library of the Dean and Chapter at Canterbury,<sup>7</sup> and is printed

<sup>1</sup> I wish to express my gratitude to Professor V. H. Galbraith for examining the writs preserved on single pieces of parchment at Westminster Abbey and at the British Museum.

<sup>2</sup> B.M. Addit. Charter 19,802. Facsimile, *Facsimiles of Ancient Charters in the British Museum*, ed. E. A. Bond (1873-78), part iv, no. 39 (but after no. 41).

<sup>3</sup> Westminster Abbey Muniments xii. Facsimile in *Ordnance Survey, Facsimiles of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, ed. W. B. Sanders (1878-84), part ii, Westminster, no. 12.

<sup>4</sup> Westminster Abbey Muniments xviii. Facsimile in *Ordnance Survey Facsimiles*, part ii, Westminster, no. 17.

<sup>5</sup> Facsimile in Bond, part iv, after no. 37. This hand will be described in the forthcoming facsimile edition of the Parker Chronicle, edited by Dr. R. Flower and Dr. A. H. Smith.

<sup>6</sup> Twysden, *Scriptores X* (1652), col. 2224; K. 909. Several MS. copies are extant.

<sup>7</sup> I wish to express my gratitude to Charles Cotton, Esq., O.B.E., F.R.C.P., Honorary Deputy Librarian of the Dean and Chapter Library, for his kindness



here in facsimile.<sup>1</sup> This writ, like the Christchurch writs attributed to Henry I and Henry II,<sup>2</sup> combines the confirmation of the possession of lands with the grant of certain rights. It stands apart, however, from the other Christchurch writs<sup>3</sup> in two important particulars. In the first place, it concludes with an ancient anathema which is not to be found in any of these other writs, but which occurs in the Chartham charter in favour of this house attributed to the Confessor (K. 896). In the second place, it employs the phrase: 'over as many thegns as they have,' (*ofer swa fela þegenas swa hi habbað*), whereas the other writs have: 'over as many thegns as I have granted them,' (*ofer swa fela þegenas swa ic heom to gelæten hæbbe*).

Is there reason to suppose that we have in the writ printed here in facsimile an authentic writ of the Confessor? Two pieces of evidence combine to show that it is not, at any rate, a contemporary copy. In the first place, the hand is probably to be assigned to the latter part of the eleventh century (or even later).<sup>4</sup> In the second place, the writ employs in the first line the construction *Eadward . . . grete*, which points to a period subsequent to the Confessor's time. *Grete*, the first person singular of the verb, ' (I) greet,' here takes the place of the third person singular *gret(t)*, '(he) greets,' the construction normally employed not only in the writs of Cnut and the Confessor, but also in the Anglo-Saxon writs of William I. It is, in fact, impossible to translate, as it stands, *Eadward grete*, and the Latin version of this writ inserts *Ego* before *Edwardus*. This is a construction unlikely to have been employed until a time when the normal construction

to me during my visits to Canterbury, and for procuring for me the photograph of this document, which is here printed in facsimile by the kind permission of the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury, to whom the copyright belongs.

<sup>1</sup> The parchment copy reproduced here is broken and chipped away at the right-hand edge. The missing words can be supplied from the copies on Roll C. 204 and in the registers in the D. and C. Library.

<sup>2</sup> For references, see Hall, *loc. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> This writ for Stigand does not stand quite alone. A Latin writ in favour of Archbishop Eadsige, identical with the Latin version of this writ except for the alteration of name, is entered in a hand of the fifteenth century on a single parchment sheet sewn on to p. 17 of Lambeth MS. 1212. I have not noticed in the numerous Canterbury registers any copy of this writ, either in Latin or in Anglo-Saxon.

<sup>4</sup> This is the opinion of the authorities of the British Museum and of Professor Galbraith, who have kindly allowed me to consult them.

'Edward greets' was becoming, or had become, unfamiliar. The phrase in the first line, *purh godes geuu ænglelandes kining*, commonly found in this form, or in its Latin equivalent *gratia dei rex anglorum*, in the post-Conquest writs of Christchurch, is also worthy of notice. There is, as far as my knowledge goes, no other instance of the use of this phrase among the Anglo-Saxon writs attributed to the Confessor.<sup>1</sup> These deviations from what appears to me to be the common form of the Edwardian writ, might be explained as changes introduced by a copyist working upon the basis of a (genuine) writ of the Confessor. On the other hand, we cannot dismiss the possibility that the writ may be a compilation dating from a period subsequent to the Confessor's reign.

The influence of the writ form is to be clearly seen in an imitation (in itself highly suspect) of its outward appearance in the Wargrave charter of the Old Minster at Winchester.<sup>2</sup> This is one of the two Anglo-Saxon charters with lists of witnesses which (as has been remarked above, p. 342) have been used as evidence of the attribution in King Edward's time of the title of *cancellarius* to the king's priest Regenbald.<sup>3</sup> It is worth noting, that both these charters come from the same monastery and that neither of them in its present form is of earlier date than the twelfth century. It was probably the outward appearance of this charter that led Stevenson to describe it as a writ; at first glance it looks like an instrument of that type. It is copied on a narrow strip of parchment in a hand of the first part of the twelfth century,<sup>4</sup> and the lower edge has been cut to make a

<sup>1</sup> The vast majority of writs begin: *Eadweard cyning gret*, etc. For Latin writs with the *gratia dei*, etc. phrase, see, for example, K. 902, which is a Latin version of K. 831, and the Latin version, in the cartularies, of K. 868 (the Anglo-Saxon texts have not this phrase). A variation is to be found in K. 850. None of these are contemporary copies.

<sup>2</sup> B.M. Cotton Charter x. 17. Facsimile in Bond, part iv., no. 37. Not in Kemble.

<sup>3</sup> W. H. Stevenson (*loc. cit.*) remarks that, 'this Old English writ has, contrary to custom, witnesses in Latin,' that 'they are written in the same hand as the body of the writ, which is not in the OE hand of Edward's time,' and that the fragments of seal are useless as a means of testing the authenticity of the writ, 'which may be genuine.'

<sup>4</sup> This is the date assigned to it on palæographical grounds by the authorities of the British Museum, who have kindly allowed me to consult them.

narrow tag of parchment (now detached), to which possibly at one time a seal may have been affixed ; now only a few small crumbling fragments remain. But actually, this charter is not a writ, for it does not begin with the characteristic writ greeting and address.

It is a simple declaration (beginning : ' In the name of God Almighty and of all his saints '), that King Edward gladly allows the pious gift that his mother Ælfgifu Emma granted to the Old Minster of the manor (*tun*) called Wargrave, with sac and soke and with all fines (*witan*) and with as complete freedom in every respect as when she herself owned it. This he does for the souls of his father King Æthelred and of his brother Hardacnut, and of all the kings who were before him or who shall succeed to this kingdom after him. He requests, that as they wish to have a share in this pious gift, so they will steadfastly observe their oaths of loyalty to the holy foundation, and invokes a curse upon anyone who attempts to alter this. Then follow the sign of the cross and the words : *Ego Stigand' arc consensi*, the consent of Archbishop Ealdred, Bishop Hæreman (Hereman), Ræimballd *cancell'*, and Earl Godwine, being notified in similar terms.

Stevenson noticed that the list of witnesses was ' contrary to custom ' in Latin. What he did not remark upon was the difficulty of accepting this list in its present form as an authentic copy of a genuine list. It names together Archbishop Ealdred,<sup>1</sup> who was not promoted to the see of York until 1060, and Earl Godwine, who died in 1053. If it be suggested that ' archbishop ' might easily have been substituted for ' bishop ' by a copyist, the answer would of course be, that in that case we must admit the possibility of the interpolation of the word *cancellarius*. But in any case, we cannot be perfectly assured that this charter records a genuine grant and a genuine confirmation of that grant. We are reminded that according to a Winchester tradition,<sup>2</sup> Wargrave with other manors was bestowed upon the monks of St. Swithun by Queen Ælfgifu Emma in memory of her success in the (? apocryphal) ordeal of the redhot ploughshares. But Domesday Book (i, 57) tells us that Wargrave was in 1086 in the possession, not of the monks of the Old Minster, but of the king, and that it had been held by Queen Edith. There

<sup>1</sup> For Ealdred's dates see R. R. Darlington, *E.H.R.*, vol. xlviii (1933), p. 4, footnote 2. Ealdred had held the see of Worcester, at times in conjunction with one or two other sees, before his promotion.

<sup>2</sup> Dugdale *Monasticon* (ed. 1846), i, 194 f.



is, of course, no difficulty in supposing that the grant (supposing that it was ever made or confirmed) may have been revoked or frustrated, or that the community may have disposed of the land, if ever it came into their possession. But the later history of Wargrave suggests that in the post-Conquest period, the monks of the Old Minster may have made more than one attempt to gain possession of the manor or at any rate to show reason why it should be in their possession. It is recorded in the *Victoria History of Berkshire* (iii, 192) that this manor, which was held by William I, afterwards formed part of the crown demesne, that King Stephen is said to have granted the manor to his brother Henry, bishop of Winchester, but that Henry II held the manor during his reign. Henry also is said to have granted Wargrave to the bishop of Winchester. It probably came in 1189 into the hands of Bishop Godfrey de Lucy, to whom there is reason to suppose that Richard I sold it to raise money for the Crusades. If the history of the estate given in outline here is justly founded, it is not difficult to imagine that the monks of the Old Minster, or the bishop, may have found it desirable to produce evidence of an ancient claim to Wargrave, whether or not an actual grant of this manor had been made to the Old Minster in King Edward's time. It would in any case be difficult to accept the linguistic forms of this charter as characteristic of that king's reign, and although late forms may be merely the modernisations of a copyist, the style of the charter is, in my opinion, not of such a character as to forbid us to entertain doubts of its authenticity based on other grounds. The chronological dislocation in the list of witnesses would of course in itself make this list useless for the purpose for which it has been used, namely, to demonstrate that the title of *cancellarius* was in use in King Edward's day.

There is perhaps a little more to be said in favour of the authenticity of the second of this pair of Winchester charters, which merits closer examination than it appears to have received hitherto (see p. 341 above). Stylistically, it is superior to the charter that has just been discussed.<sup>1</sup> It is a writ concerning

<sup>1</sup> There are evident marks of lateness in its linguistic features, but in its general structure it follows the common form of the Edwardian writ, except for its list of witnesses.

Portland (K. 891), which (with other manors) was by Winchester tradition<sup>1</sup> supposed to have been given to the monks of St. Swithun by King Edward in gratitude for his mother's success in the ordeal, as Wargrave and other manors had been given by Queen Ælfgifu Emma herself.

King Edward informs all his *witan*, ecclesiastical and lay, that he has bequeathed (*bicweden*) to the Old Minster at Winchester, to the praise of God and St. Peter and St. Swithun, Portland and all that pertains (*bilyð*) thereto for the clothing and food of the monks, for his soul and for the souls of all his kinsmen and for the souls of all the kings who shall rule this kingdom after him; adding 'May he who [shall] undo this bequest (*cwide*) have to account for it to God on the day of judgment.' The writ concludes with the words: 'These are the names of the persons who were present at this bequest (*cwide*); Queen Edith, Archbishop Stigand, Earl Harold, Rengebold *cancheler*.'

This writ records what appears to be a post-obit gift; it would not be easy to find a clear instance of such a gift among the other benefactions of the Confessor, recorded in writs.<sup>2</sup> King Edward's intention, however (supposing the grant to be authentic), seems to have been frustrated, for in Domesday Book Portland is entered (i, 75) under *Terra Regis*: 'The king holds the island which is called Portland (*Porland*). 'King' Edward held it in his lifetime (*in vita sua*). On the other hand, a claim of the monks of St. Swithun's to Portland 'which King Edward gave them' is admitted in a writ of Henry I,<sup>3</sup> and in the thirteenth century, they were in a position to grant to Ethelmar, bishop-elect of Winchester, their manor of Portland, together with the manor of Wyke, the vill of Weymouth, and the land of Helewell.<sup>4</sup>

Supposing it be admitted that the Portland writ under discussion may be evidence of a genuine grant by the Confessor, can

<sup>1</sup> Dugdale *Monasticon*, i, 194; cf. i, 190, 210.

<sup>2</sup> For a post-obit gift by his mother, see A. W. Goodman, *Chartulary of Winchester Cathedral* (Winchester, 1927), p. 14, no. 31. For other post-obit gifts, see K. 841 and 882.

<sup>3</sup> V. H. Galbraith, *E.H.R.*, vol. xxxv (1920), p. 390, no. xviii.

<sup>4</sup> *Victoria County History of Hampshire*, iii, 87, footnote 41. The above mentioned writ of Henry I assigns to the monks of St. Swithun's, as well as Portland, *Wike et portum Waimuth et Melecumbe*. Professor Galbraith notes that in DB. Porland, Melcome and Waia appear as royal manors. The various accounts of King Edward's grant differ in detail; cf. the references in footnote 1, above.

we be certain that this writ, with the list of witnesses in which the name of Regenbald (Rengebold) occurs, was in its present form composed before the Norman Conquest? The writ exhibits certain unusual features. In the first place, it is addressed to the witan, ecclesiastical and lay, and not to the bishop, the earl, the sheriff and the thegns of the shire. The witan are mentioned, but only after other persons whose names are given, in two Ramsey charters, K. 853 and K. 904, the first of which is discussed below, p. 356. Again, *bilyð to* is used in the sense of 'appertains to' (see Bosworth-Toller, Suppt., s.v. *belicgan* and N.E.D. *belie*, v<sup>1</sup>), where normal usage employs the verbs *licgan in to*, *belimpan to*, *gebyrian to*, *hyran to*. The omission of *freondlice* in the address might be due to the copyist, as might also the linguistic features indicating a late date. But, in truth, the most remarkable feature of this writ is the list of witnesses itself, appended to it and following the anathema. Only rarely are the names of witnesses to a transaction which the writ records given in an Anglo-Saxon writ,<sup>1</sup> and (so far as I am aware) only in the case of the writ under consideration here are the names of witnesses appended to it.<sup>2</sup> This list of witnesses in which the title *cancheler* occurs cannot, in fact, be demonstrated to be of earlier date than the twelfth century Codex Wintoniensis (B.M. Addit. MS. 15,350) in which alone it is preserved, and it is difficult to see how it can be appealed to with any confidence as valid evidence for the reign of the Confessor.

Again, there are good reasons for hesitating to accept as certain the date A.D. 1032 attributed to a charter (Thorpe, p. 324) bearing the name of King Cnut, which has been used to give an exact date to the first appearance in English sources of the official to whom was given the title of 'staller.' This charter is extant

<sup>1</sup> For instances see K. 731, 839, and also K. 826, 827, 841. Kemble, following Dugdale, appends the names of five witnesses to a Canterbury writ of the Confessor (K. 847), but these names belong in reality to a charter of Æthelred II (K. 715). A writ attributed to Cnut, in a later copy (K. 1319), has a long list of witnesses preceding a short anathema.

<sup>2</sup> This should not be taken to imply that it is considered improbable that the names of witnesses to a post-obit gift by King Edward (supposing such a gift to have been made), should have been recorded in a writ. What appears to be abnormal, is the place given to the names of the witnesses in this document.



in Latin and in Anglo-Saxon, the earliest known copy being entered on a parchment (B.M. Stowe Charter no. 40) on which both versions are inscribed in a hand that is probably of the twelfth century.<sup>1</sup>

The charter is a declaration that King Cnut conceded (*læt, concessit*) the land at Folkestone to Christchurch, Canterbury, when Eadsige his priest became a monk there; with the proviso that Eadsige should hold it for his lifetime (but without the power to alienate it by gift or sale, or loss in a lawsuit, or forfeiture),<sup>2</sup> and that after his death it should pass to Christchurch, because the king had been informed by his witan that it had belonged to Christchurch in the time of King Æthelstan<sup>3</sup> and Archbishop Oda, and that it had been alienated from them with great injustice; and that he (Cnut) has given it to the church for the eternal salvation of his soul. The charter concludes with the names of a number of witnesses, among whom appears Thored *steallara*.

An endorsement in a thirteenth century hand assigns the date A.D. 1032 to this transaction, a date which receives support from another charter (K. 745) which records arrangements made with the royal permission for the disposal of estates by Eadsige when he became a monk; these estates included land at Appledore Orpington, Palstre and Wittersham, the grant of which to Christchurch is dated A.D. 1032 in the (late) list of benefactions to Canterbury printed by Dugdale (*Monasticon*, i, 97).

It is, however, impossible to reconcile this date with the known dates of some of the witnesses named. Although 1032 is the only year in which Ælfsige and Æthelric could have come together as bishops (the one of Winchester, the other of Selsey), the abbot of St. Augustine's in that year was not Ælfmær (whose name appears in this list as abbot of that house) but Ælfstan. Abbot

<sup>1</sup> This is the date assigned to it on palæographical grounds by the authorities of the British Museum, who have kindly allowed me to consult them. Facsimile in *Ordnance Survey Facsimiles*, part iii, no. 41. Mr. Jolliffe's references (pp. 129, 134) are to Kemble's text (K. 1327), taken from Joscelyn's copy, Cott. Vitellius D vii, no. 30, p. 39). Kemble omits the Latin text, which in this copy is incomplete.

<sup>2</sup> I owe this translation of *forspekan* and *forspillan* to Dr. A. J. Robertson, who has kindly lent me the first proof of her forthcoming edition of charters.

<sup>3</sup> A Latin charter attributed to Æthelstan (K. 344\* and 1100), copied by a twelfth century hand into a volume of Gospels given by Æthelstan to Christchurch, grants to Christchurch the land at Folkestone *ubi quondam fuit monasterium et abbatia sanctarum virginum ubi etiam sepulta est Sancta Eansunitha*.

Ælfmær ruled over St. Augustine's from 1006 until his elevation to the see of Sherborne in 1022 or 1023.<sup>1</sup> His successor was Ælfstan, who is addressed as abbot in a grant to St. Augustine's attributed to Cnut (K. 1326), of the body and lands of St. Mildred in 1027, and who took part in the translation of the body of St. Mildred to St. Augustine's in 1030.<sup>2</sup> He witnesses as abbot of St. Augustine's the other charter (mentioned above) that deals with Eadsige's affairs. Further, the Lifricus *comes* of the Latin version of the Folkestone charter under discussion, who is the Leofric *eorl* of Joscelyn's copy, appears in the twelfth century Anglo-Saxon version copied on the same sheet, as Lyfwine (for Leofwine) *eorl*. This variation, Leofric-Leofwine, is one that we should hardly expect to find in an authentic copy of a genuine list of witnesses.<sup>3</sup> Again, some other names in this list suggest (as do those of Ælfmær and Leofwine) an earlier date than 1032. The signatures of the Danish earls Ulf, Eglaf, and Yric are not found elsewhere after 1024,<sup>4</sup> and it is not easy to believe that these persons were present at an assembly in 1032, which, as we have said above, is the only year in which Ælfsige and Æthelric

<sup>1</sup> The date A.D. 1022 (M.xxij) is given for Ælfmær's appointment as bishop by Thorne, *Chron. de Rebus gestis Abbat. S. August. Cant.* (Twysden, *Scriptores X*), col. 1782, but Thorne also gives, col. 1783, the date 1017 (M.xvij) which is accepted by Stubbs' *Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum* (ed. 1897), but is not in accordance with the evidence of charters. The date to be assigned to Ælfmær's promotion to the bishopric is probably dependent upon the authenticity of Cnut's grant to Christchurch of Sandwich (K. 737), a grant which is dated 1023 and which he attests as abbot. He also witnesses as abbot a document (K. 734) dated 1022. Thorne states that Ælfmær after his elevation to the bishopric became blind and returned to St. Augustine's.

<sup>2</sup> These are the dates given to these events by Thorne, col. 1783, whether or not the above mentioned St. Mildred charter attributed to Cnut (K. 1326) is authentic. For the controversy that arose in the latter part of the eleventh century concerning the body of St. Mildred, which the Gregorian canons of Canterbury claimed themselves to possess, see *Dict. Christ. Biog.* s.n. Mildred.

<sup>3</sup> Leofwine is presumably the father of Leofric, the earl of Mercia. The date of Leofric's appointment as earl is not certain. It is discussed at some length by Freeman, *Norman Conquest* (3rd ed.), i, note CCC. There is evidence which suggests that Leofwine may have died c. 1023. The first signature as *dux*, in a dated charter, of his son Leofric occurs in 1032 (K. 746). There are therefore grounds for supposing that Leofric succeeded his father as earl at some date between 1023 and 1032, and probably in the earlier part of that period.

<sup>4</sup> I owe this point to Dr. A. J. Robertson.

could have come together as bishops. We are, then, led to the conclusion, that the list of witnesses as it stands cannot belong to the year 1032,<sup>1</sup> and that the charter is useless for assigning any exact date in years to the appearance of Thored the staller.<sup>2</sup>

Again, a Ramsey charter of the Confessor (K. 853) is cited by Mr. Jolliffe (p. 111) in that section of his volume which is devoted to a discussion of the development of the powers and functions of the kingship, and more particularly of those royal rights which were known to the Norman lawyers as the 'king's pleas.' These were certain categories of offences the penalties for which went direct to the king—the crown-right known in post-Conquest times as the 'pleas of the Crown.' What Mr. Jolliffe asserts is that, 'before the Conquest, in the Confessor's charter to Ramsey, the concept is as fully realized as it was to be for a generation after it: 'all the pleas that belong to my crown,' *ealle tha gyltas*<sup>3</sup> *tha belimpeth to mine kinehelme, omnes forisfacturae*

<sup>1</sup> A similar chronological dislocation forbids us to accept as genuine in its present form the Folkestone charter attributed to Æthelstan (see above p. 354, footnote 3), which is dated 927, but witnessed by Ælfheah, bishop of Winchester, who did not succeed until 934. It does not seem possible to determine at what date the community at Christchurch put forward their claim to Folkestone (whether or not we are to understand by that anything more than the site of the ancient nunnery of St. Eanswith), or whether it was based on authentic grants. Folkestone is not assigned to them in Domesday. Hasted informs us that a new priory of monks was founded after the Conquest on the site of the ancient nunnery, which in the twelfth century, the period to which the extant copies of these charters have been assigned, was being swallowed up by the sea. The use in the Latin version of the Folkestone charter attributed to Cnut of the phrase *barones regis* where the Anglo-Saxon version has *witan*, suggests that the Latin version, at any rate, was composed in the post-Conquest period. The disastrous fires from which Christchurch suffered in 1011, again, shortly after the Norman Conquest (when many manuscripts are said to have been destroyed), and again in 1174, may well have made it desirable or necessary to provide fresh copies of ancient deeds. For the early history of Folkestone, see Hasted, *History of Kent* (ed. 1797), viii, 154, 179; Dugdale *Monasticon*, i, 451, iv, 672 f.; for Canterbury tradition, see Gervase of Canterbury, R.S., ii, 56.

<sup>2</sup> This should not be taken to imply that there is any inherent improbability in the use of the title of staller at this period. Thored the staller's name, like that of other witnesses, might possibly belong to a list of an earlier date than 1032. Osgod *stallere* is mentioned in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, 1047 D. In Norway the *stallari* is mentioned in the reign of St. Olaf, killed in 1030.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Jolliffe prints this word without comment as *gyltas*, giving it the *-as* plural termination of OE, but the copies of this charter on the Charter Roll, in



*quae pertinent ad regiam coronam meam.*' And he continues: 'The pleas of the crown were already in being.' It will, therefore, be pertinent to enquire whether there is any justification for supposing that this Ramsey charter is an authentic copy of a genuine charter issued by Edward the Confessor in favour of the great Huntingdonshire abbey.<sup>1</sup> It should be added that this is a matter of some interest to the lexicographer also, for this passage is the sole authority cited in Bosworth-Toller's Anglo-Saxon Dictionary, and Supplement, both for the use of OE *cynehelm*, 'crown,' in the extended sense of 'kingship,' and also for the use of OE *gylt*, 'offence,' in the extended sense of 'penalty,' 'payment on account of a crime,' or, as Mr. Jolliffe would translate it, 'plea.'

A Latin version of this charter was already in existence in the latter part of the twelfth century. There seems no reason to doubt the statement of the Ramsey chronicler (generally supposed to have been writing c. A.D. 1170) who inserts this charter into his narrative: *cartas et cyrographa quæ in tempore ejusdem regis* (sc. Edward the Confessor) *nobis facta sunt de Anglico in Latinum ad posterorum notitiam curavimus transmutare*; though we should not go so far as to regard his statement as a guarantee that this charter is actually in its present form a product of the reign of the king to whom it is attributed.<sup>2</sup> The earliest Anglo-Saxon version appears to be that inscribed upon the Charter Roll 8 Edward III,

MS. Cotton Otho B. xiv, and B.M. Addit. MS. 4936, all have the later ending *-es*, which is reproduced by Kemble, Earle, and Thorpe, and the editors of the *Cartularium Monasterii de Rameseia*. This alteration of the termination is not a matter of indifference. It might give the impression that the noun-terminations in this charter are uniformly those of normal Anglo-Saxon.

<sup>1</sup> The charter is extant in Anglo-Saxon and in a Latin translation. The principal editions are: *Chronicon Abbatie Rameseiensis* (the Ramsey Chronicle) R.S., p. 162, Latin only: *Cartularium Monasterii de Rameseia* (the Ramsey Cartulary), R.S., i. 218-22, Anglo-Saxon (modernised) and Latin, and ii. 80 f., Anglo-Saxon (modernised); Dugdale *Monasticon*, ii. 560, no. x; K. 853; Earle p. 343 ff.; Thorpe, p. 421 ff. Mr. Jolliffe gives here a reference to Earle, whose text, in spite of the misleading reference, is a reproduction of Kemble's.

<sup>2</sup> The Latin translation is not an absolutely literal translation of the Anglo-Saxon text now extant, though there can be little doubt that it was based upon it. *Motwurði* and the two words following are left untranslated. Connecting words between the various sections, missing in the Anglo-Saxon, are supplied in the Latin version.

m. 13.<sup>1</sup> It has suffered much less at the hands of copyists than have the versions from the Charter Roll printed in the Ramsey cartulary. When the linguistic forms of the copy on the Charter Roll are examined, there is no difficulty in supposing that the Anglo-Saxon version of this charter, as it now is, may have had its origin within a century or so after King Edward's time.

The charter begins with the address and greeting characteristic of the writ.

King Edward notifies Stigand, archbishop [of Canterbury], Æthelmær bishop [of Elmham], Earl Gyrth and Toli the sheriff and all his thegns in Norfolk and in Suffolk and all his other *witen* throughout England, ecclesiastical and lay, that he has given to Ramsey Abbey sac and soke, toll and team and infangentheof, fihtwite and fyrdwite, foresteall and hamsocn, grithbryce and scipbryce, and what is cast up by the sea in all things at Brancaster and at Ringstead as fully as he himself has ever had it by the sea-coast anywhere in England, and all the rights that he himself had there. It is his wish that the abbey shall have the soke within *Bichamdic*<sup>2</sup> in all things as fully and completely as he himself had it, and all the rights that any king can have, and all the men who are 'moot-worthy,' 'fyrd-worthy,' and 'fold-worthy' in the hundred and a half, whoever may own (*ahe*) the men, the abbot and the community at Ramsey are to have the soke in all things over them; and the market at Downham with all the rights that the king had. He will not permit any man to diminish this in any respect. And in every shire in which St. Benedict has land, his sac and his soke, toll and team and infangentheof in borough and without, and in every place, by land and by strand, in wood and in open country, whoever may have the soke, St. Benedict<sup>3</sup> is to have his freedom in all things as fully and completely as the king has anywhere in England. And all the offences that pertain to his crown in Yule and at Easter and in the holy week, at the Rogation days, in all things as the king himself has. And toll-free throughout all England, in borough and without, at the annual market and in every place by water and by land. The king forbids any man to diminish or change this gift, and invokes a curse on any man who shall impair what he has

<sup>1</sup> Kemble gives a wrong reference to Charter Roll 8 Edward II. No. 5. His version has been 'normalised' and supplied with accents in accordance with his usual practice.

<sup>2</sup> *Bichamdic*, the great Devil's Dyke that runs north and south some seven miles east of Wimbotsham. It forms the western boundary of the parish of Beechamwell. The 'soke within *Bichamdic*' was the hundred and a half of Clackclose. I am indebted for this information to Dr. O. K. Schram.

<sup>3</sup> Ramsey Abbey was dedicated to Our Lady, St. Benedict, and all Holy Virgins.

granted. The charter concludes with the words : ' This document (*writ*, OE *gewrit*) was made at Windsor on the fourth day of Easter with the witness of Queen Edith and Earl Godwine and Earl Harold.'

There is evidence that more than one writ was issued by King Edward to notify to the persons concerned the various grants mentioned in the charter under discussion. A writ concerning the soke within *Bichamdich* is extant in a Latin version, and it is a reasonable presumption that this is based on a genuine writ of King Edward.<sup>1</sup> Another royal writ can be traced in a list of Ramsey charters, of which only the contents or titles are given, in the Ramsey cartulary : *Sancti Edwardi de libertatibus in Norfolcia Brancastre et hundredo Clak[eclose] in Anglico ; signum omnino fractum*.<sup>2</sup> Again, the Ramsey chronicler tells us (p. 160 f.) of the issue of charters in English bearing the royal seal (*regiæ suæ imaginis impressione roboratis*) to Abbot Ælfwine after the king had granted to the abbey Ringstead *cum libertate adjacente et omni maris ejectu qui wrech dicitur*, at the request of Withman, formerly abbot, and Wimbotsham with the hundred and a half (of Clackclose) and 64 sokemen of that hundred, and the market of Downham and its liberties, at the petition of the monk Oswald. The probability is that all these charters were writs, for in King Edward's reign, writs were the only royal charters that bore seals.

But there are good reasons for hesitating to accept the charter which Mr. Jolliffe cites, as an authentic copy of a writ issued by the clerks of King Edward's secretariat. Although it begins with the characteristic writ address and greeting, it departs from the common form of the Edwardian writ in several important

<sup>1</sup> *Chron. Abbat. Rames.*, p. 164. King Edward declares that it is his wish that the soke within *Bichamdich* should belong in all things to St. Benedict of Ramsey as fully and completely as it was first given to that church, and he forbids anyone to diminish it who values his friendship. Abbot Ælfwine and the community are to be helped to obtain their rights whenever need arises and they are not to be deprived of any of those things that are known to belong to them.

<sup>2</sup> *Cart. Mon. de Rames.* i, 85, no. 108. The abbreviated and contracted forms of the MS. are extended here as in the printed text of the Ramsey cartulary. The editors assume that the MS. *oīa* stands for *oīo*, i.e. *omnino*. For the MS. *sig<sup>m</sup>*, which the editors expand to *signum*, the expanded form *sigillum*, 'seal,' which is equally possible, seems preferable.



particulars. Features of this charter, for which it would be difficult to find a parallel among the Confessor's writs, are its unusual length, the large variety of subjects with which it deals, and its imperfect construction.<sup>1</sup> Its various parts are joined together without the use of the customary transitional phrases and its syntax presents certain difficulties that have been smoothed out in the Latin version. For instance, the section beginning with the phrase : *And in ælcer scire ðær sanctus Benedictus hafð land inne his saca and his socne* (' in every shire in which St. Benedict has land his sac and his soke '), has the appearance of having been violently torn from its context for insertion here—there is no introductory clause. The Latin version supplies the words : *concedo eis*, and the connective *quoque*. Similarly some connecting link is required before : *and tolfreo ofer ealle Engleland*. The Latin version supplies a verb and translates *ab omni thelonei exactione liberi sint*. Reference to the summary of this charter which has been given on p. 358 above, in which the structure of the document is closely reproduced, will supply several further instances. Moreover, the attesting clause of this charter is highly abnormal. Although the document begins with the address and greeting characteristic of the writ, it concludes with an attesting clause of a type found among documents which have the characteristic writ opening, only (as far as I am aware) in the other long Ramsey charter, its companion piece. This attesting clause, it should be noted, is not a list of witnesses to the transaction which the writ records, such as is found in some documents to which allusion has already been made above (p. 353), but a statement that 'This document was made at Windsor on the fourth day of Easter with the witness of Queen Edith (Eadgið) and of Earl Godwine and of Earl Harold.' It is difficult without further evidence to believe that this clause can be authentic, for the making of a writ was not in itself in the Old English period a transaction that required witnesses ; a writ was merely the notification of something that had been done. Further, it would not be easy to harmonise the dates of the persons named in the attesting clause, with the date which is indicated for the issue of the writ by the dates of the persons mentioned

<sup>1</sup> These characteristics are shared by the other long Ramsey charter (K. 904).

by name in the address. These point to the period between the appointment of Stigand as archbishop of Canterbury (after the flight of Robert of Jumièges in September 1052), and the death of Earl Godwine on the Thursday after Easter (April 15) in 1053 (Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, 1053 C). But (as was pointed out by the editor of the Ramsey Chronicle, p. 162), whereas the dating clause informs us that the document was made at Easter, the king was in the year 1053, to which the opening clause points, keeping Easter not at Windsor but at Winchester (Chronicle 1053 C), and although Earl Godwine who is named as a witness in the attesting clause was indeed with him at that time, together with Earl Harold and Tostig, Godwine died on the Thursday after Easter (April 15) on the day following the day assigned to the making of the writ (supposing 1053 to be the correct date for this document), having lain ill and speechless since Easter Monday.<sup>1</sup> But it would probably be unwise to take the attesting clause seriously.<sup>2</sup>

It is difficult indeed to believe that a document so clumsily constructed and presenting an attesting clause of such an unusual kind, can have been issued by the clerks of the king's secretariat, and its authenticity in its present form must be regarded as in the highest degree doubtful. The impression left by the whole structure of the charter is that it has been unskilfully compiled by the utilisation of material from more than one source. We cannot, then, be assured without further corroboration that any individual phrase in this document is that of an authentic charter issued in favour of Ramsey during King Edward's reign, and we are not entitled without further evidence to assume that *gylt* was used before the Norman Conquest in the sense of 'plea,' or *cynehelm* in the abstract sense of 'crown,' as Mr. Jolliffe would have us believe.

The phrase *ealle tha gyltes tha belimpeth to mine kinehelme*

<sup>1</sup> The DNB., s.n. Godwin or Godwine, seems to be mistaken in stating that Godwine died 14th April, 1053. Cf. Plummer, *Chronicle*, ii, 242.

<sup>2</sup> The address may have formed part of a genuine writ, although it is perhaps doubtful whether Stigand would have been addressed as archbishop in a genuine writ of 1053. On Stigand's position, see Chronicle 1053 C and R.R. Darlington, *E.H.R.*, vol. li (1936), p. 420 f. For the position of Gyrth, see Freeman, *Norman Conquest* (3rd ed.), ii, p. 582 f.

is not found elsewhere, to my knowledge, in the whole range of Edwardian writs, and we may well doubt whether this phrase was in use during the Old English period.<sup>1</sup> It is perhaps worth while to call attention to the use of the phrase *omnia placita ad coronam meam pertinentia* in a charter attributed to Henry I, which is inserted in the Ramsey Chronicle, and which has reference to certain liberties mentioned in the charter that we are discussing: *socam et sacam et thol et theam et infangenethef et hamsokne et gritbriche et forestal et blodwite et murdre et wrec maris et omnes libertates et omnia placita ad coronam meam pertinentia apud Brauncestre et Ringstede et apud Clacloshundred et dimidium* (Chron. Abbat. Rames., p. 222, no. 215). One might hazard the suggestion that the Ramsey charter attributed to King Edward may have been compiled in the early Norman period on the basis, perhaps, of one or more genuine writs of the Confessor in favour of Ramsey Abbey, and that to this matter was added other material by the compiler attempting to translate into Anglo-Saxon the Latin formulæ of his own day. It would be easier to accept this hypothesis than to believe that this document is an accurate copy of a charter issued by the clerks of the Confessor's secretariat.<sup>2</sup>

What were, in fact, the benefactions to Ramsey Abbey that this charter purports to convey? It is unfortunately impossible to accept Mr. Jolliffe's summary of this grant. His statement (p. 69) that Edward the Confessor gave to St. Benet of Ramsey 'the soke within Bichamdik and the other half hundred' is

<sup>1</sup> The privileges conveyed by the king are usually stated in definite terms, *sac*, *soke*, *infangenetheof*, and so on. Frequently, we find in addition such phrases as: 'and all things, as fully and completely as I myself possessed it'; 'with all the things (rights) that pertain to me'; 'with all other rights.' An exceptional phrase occurs in a Wells writ which is preserved only in a thirteenth century cartulary (K. 837): *mid eallon þā forwyrhtan þe me oþer minon æftergengan to honda bogen wyllen*. Another hand has written over *bogen*, *begon*. The interpretation of this phrase will depend on the meaning assigned to *forwyrhtan* and to *bogen*. Unfortunately, the Latin version is not close enough to the Anglo-Saxon to help us to explain these difficult words. Are the *forwyrhtan* 'the evil-doers' (cf. Bosworth-Toller Suppt. *forwyrcan* II), or are they 'the crimes' (cf. B.-T. Suppt. *forwyrht*)? Is *bogen* to be derived from OE *bugan* 'to submit', or have we here *began* 'to fall to one's lot' (cf. B.-T. Suppt. *began* I, a(2))?

<sup>2</sup> A Ramsey charter (K. 809) attributed to the Confessor, purporting to confirm to Ramsey Abbey a large number of grants, is starred by Kemble, and included by Stevenson (*loc. cit.*) in a list of forged charters.



founded upon a mistranslation of an Anglo-Saxon idiom. *Dæt oðer halfe hundred* means 'the hundred and a half,'<sup>1</sup> i.e. of Clackclose, and the 'soke within Bichamdik' and the hundred and a half of Clackclose were identical; the two phrases are not brought together in the charter in the way that Mr. Jolliffe implies. It was probably owing to an oversight that another passage was mistranslated in his summary: 'so full and so forth as I myself held it, *and all the rights that any king had there*, and all the men that are moot-worthy, fyrd-worthy, and fold-worthy.' Kemble's text (K. 853), to which Mr. Jolliffe gives a reference, here reads (omitting his accents): *swa full and swa forð swa ic heo meseolf ahte*, and ealle ða gerihte ða æni kinge mæi ahen, *ande alle ða men ða beon motwurði, ferðwurðe and faldwurði in ðæt oðer halfe hundred swa hwilc man swa ða men ahe sancte Marie and sanctus Benedictus and se abbod and ða gebroðra into Ramesege habben ða socne on eallen þingen ofer heom*. The second clause in the Anglo-Saxon text is of course to be translated: 'and all the rights that any king can (may) have.' Moreover, by omitting one clause, Mr. Jolliffe fails to bring out the point of the grant of 'all the men that are moot-worthy, fyrd-worthy and fold-worthy.' In what sense did the Confessor 'give' these men to St. Benet of Ramsey? They were in some measure privileged persons. They were entitled (or bound) to attend the moot, and qualified to serve in the fyrd, they were free from the obligation to send their sheep to their lord's folds.<sup>2</sup> The soke over them belonged to the king, though they may have commended themselves to other lords. It was this soke that the king now transferred from himself to St. Benet of Ramsey, 'whoever may own the men,' i.e. 'whoever may have their commendation.'

Another Anglo-Saxon charter is summarised in Mr. Jolliffe's book in a way which may not perhaps gain general acceptance. I find it difficult to follow him in his interpretation (p. 191) of the Snodland charter (K. 929), in which we are given an account

<sup>1</sup> See Joseph Wright, *Old English Grammar*, § 457.

<sup>2</sup> I cannot accept the explanation in Bosworth-Toller, Suppt., s.v. *fald-weorþ*, 'bound to send sheep to the folds of the lord.' It seems to me that the exact opposite is intended: 'free to have his own fold.'

of the reconciliation at the king's command of the rival claims of Godwine, bishop of Rochester, and Leofwine, son of Ælfheah, to land at Snodland in Kent. Any ambiguity in the meaning of this charter is the fault of the compiler, who has omitted to state clearly to whom the pronoun 'he' refers, in his account of the compromise in which the suit ended. Mr. Jolliffe, who is using this charter as evidence for the activity of the shire-court, says that the land was adjudged to the bishop by the 'unanimous judgment of the witan.'<sup>1</sup> But this phrase is not to be found in the charter, and although Mr. Jolliffe is right in saying that the proceedings were set in motion by the king, I cannot agree that we have here a judgment of the court, the witan acting as judges. The keynote of the document is sounded in the introductory clause: 'how they were reconciled (or brought to an agreement),' *wurdon gesybsmode*, i.e. it is an account of an agreement or compromise between the two parties, witnessed by the witan. The bishop's claim to the ownership of the land was admitted, but the rights of Leofwine (who was apparently in possession) could not be ignored.

There they dealt with the suit after the bishop had produced his evidence until (finally) they all humbly prayed the bishop that he would grant that he (Leofwine) might with (the bishop's) blessing enjoy the estate at Snodland during his lifetime, and the bishop granted this to the satisfaction (*þanc*) of all the witan who were there assembled; and he (Leofwine) gave a solemn assurance that after his death the land should return without dispute to the foundation (St. Andrew's, Rochester) from which it was leased, and gave up to the holy place the deeds which he had relating to the land which had been alienated from that foundation, and all the messuages that he had west of the church.

It is also necessary to point out that Mr. Jolliffe has transferred this suit from the reign of Æthelred II, to which it rightfully belongs, to that of Edward the Confessor. This is a matter of some consequence, for the suit is used by him to show that in the Confessor's day provincial assemblies were at times empowered by special writ of the king to try some special cause.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This is contrary to his statement that the 'scyresman Leofric' was able to determine that the estate in question, Snodland, was *lænland* tenable by the bishop for life only. *E.H.R.* vol. I (1935), p. 19.

<sup>2</sup> Elsewhere in his book (p. 133) Mr. Jolliffe uses this same charter to show that the Confessor had a seal.

But in this Kentish charter the king named is Æthelred, while the Archbishop Ælfric who is named must be the archbishop who ruled from 995 to 1005, the only Ælfric to occupy the see of Canterbury. Other easily-identified magnates named in connexion with the suit are Godwine, bishop of Rochester from 995 to 1045 (there may have been two bishops of this name in succession), and Wulfric (Mr. Jolliffe calls him Wulfhun), abbot of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, from 989 to 1006. Nor can the other charter that Mr. Jolliffe cites in this connexion be considered decisive evidence for the reign of the Confessor, namely the Westminster writ (K. 826) concerning Datchworth and Watton. Mr. Jolliffe states (p. 191) that, 'under Eadward, again, a moot of nine shires adjudged land at Datchworth to Westminster,' but, in fact, we have no means of telling at what date this judgment was given. The writ attributed to the Confessor names in the following order three events in the history of these estates: (i) Ælfwynn the nun held it (or them, if we emend) of the monastery and commended (?) herself to Abbot Eadwine and the monks in the presence of Queen Edith; (ii) King Edgar granted them to the monastery; (iii) they were adjudged 'in the nine shires at Wendelbury.' It might with some plausibility be argued that the second of these three items is an interpolation, but there can be no certainty in the matter. What is quite clear is that the writ does not inform us whether the judgment of the nine shires was a recent event or one in the more remote past.<sup>1</sup>

Other passages in Mr. Jolliffe's book call for comment. An interesting section (p. 113 ff.) is devoted to the development of a national peace ('frith') as distinct from the individual 'griths' of king or magnates, and this national frith he sees in a passage of the Laws of Edward the Elder. He says (p. 115), that Edward, at Exeter, with his counsellors 'seeks how our frith may be made better,' and 'receives oath and pledge from all the nation' that they will hold to it.<sup>2</sup> It is difficult to see how the Anglo-Saxon

<sup>1</sup> For an undoubted case of a judgment given by the Confessor's thegns, see K. 847:  *Ic wille ðæt se dom stande ðe mine pegenas gedemdan.*

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Jolliffe gives no reference for the second of these passages, which is apparently based upon II Edward 5.



text can bear this interpretation. A literal translation of the text (II Edward, Proem : *Eadweard cyning myngode his wytan, þa hy æt Exanceastre wæron, þæt hy smeadon ealle hu heora frið betere beon mæhte þonne hit ær ðam wæs*) would be : ' King Edward exhorted his counsellors, when they were at Exeter, to consider all of them how their (*heora*) frith could be (kept) better than it had been '—clearly what the king had in mind was his counsellors' responsibility for their own frith. Mr. Jolliffe goes on to say, that Æthelstan, again, at Grateley complains that ' our frith is ill kept,' and ' takes oaths, pledges, and sureties ' from the witan there. But Æthelstan's complaint (as a reference to the Anglo-Saxon text (V Æthelstan) will show) was made not at Grateley, but at Exeter. It was the ' oaths, pledges, and sureties ' that were given at the earlier meeting of the witan at Grateley.

Finally, one of Mr. Jolliffe's pivotal assumptions (p. 2 ff.) is the solidarity in early English society of the kindred, the ' group united by one blood and custom.' His statement (p. 3) that in the feud the families of both parties were involved ' to seven or nine degrees according to usage ' is presumably based on Continental custom ; he gives no references to English sources.<sup>1</sup> But Mr. Jolliffe reinforces his argument as to the cohesion of the *mægð* by the use of words compounded with *mægð-* for the existence of which as compound nouns in Anglo-Saxon the references that he gives provide no warrant whatsoever. On p. 3 he uses the compound *mægthborh*, explaining that ' the natural and original warrantors of any man are his own kin, his *mægthborh*.'<sup>2</sup> On p. 10 he speaks of ' those who pay and receive the bot with their kinsman, the *mægðburg*.' But for each of the references that he gives (Ine 74, 1 ; Ælfred 41) the Anglo-Saxon text of the Laws reads *mægburg*, a not uncommon word, a compound of *mæg*, ' kinsman,' and *burg* (cf. OE *beorgan*,

<sup>1</sup> For a criticism of Mr. Jolliffe's views on the kindred, see Mr. G. Lapsley, *History*, vol. xxiii (June, 1938), pp. 1-11. The connotations of OE *mægð* were critically examined by Dame Bertha Phillpotts, *Kindred and Clan* (Cambridge, 1913), chapter vii.

<sup>2</sup> Possibly Mr. Jolliffe had in mind II Æthelstan 1, 3 : *Ga sio mægþ him on borh*.

'to protect'),<sup>1</sup> It would be unfortunate if the two coinages *mægthborh*, *mægðburg*, should pass into the vocabulary of students of constitutional history.<sup>2</sup> But when Mr. Jolliffe speaks on p. 17 of the *mægthbot* or 'amendment for loss of honour by insult to a kinsman' (instead of the *mægbot*, which is the reading of Ine 76, to which a reference is given, and which he gives in his footnote), there is serious confusion, for the compound *mægðbot* is actually used in Æthelberht 74: *Mægþbot sy swa friges mannes*. But *mægð-* here means not 'kindred' but 'maiden,' and the *mægðbot* is not 'amendment for loss of honour by insult to a kinsman,' but 'compensation for injury to be paid to (? or by) an unmarried woman.'<sup>3</sup>

Mr. Jolliffe has with good reason been praised for his very extensive acquaintance with the original authorities. It is greatly to be regretted that so far as Anglo-Saxon texts are concerned, it is not easy to feel full confidence in his use and interpretation of them.

<sup>1</sup> There is also a textual variant *mægborh* (*mægeborh*, *magborg*), which Liebermann and Bosworth-Toller enter under *mægburg*. They do not recognise *mægborh* as an independent word. It should be added that the occurrence in the Laws of two parallel forms, of *mæglage* (VIII Æthelred, 25), and of *mægðlage* (I Cnut 5, 2 d), does not justify the assumption that *mægð-* might alternate freely with *mæg-* in other compounds.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Jolliffe gives an inaccurate form to the following words: OE *borh* appears as *bohr*, p. 57, p. 60<sup>5</sup> (twice), and in the compound *bohrbryce* (for *borhbryce*) pp. 18, 110: OE *gold-hord* as *gold-horde*, p. 129 and Index: OE *hlaforddome* (dat.) as *hlafooddome*, p. 16, footnote: *þe fæhðe* as *þæe fehþe*, p. 3<sup>1</sup>): *þingian* as *þingan*, p. 64; *þingað* as *thingiath*, p. 15<sup>7</sup>: *Wealhcyenn* as *Weahlcynn*, and *Weahl-* as *Weahl-* in the compound *Weahlishman*, both on p. 98 (the reference to Ine 68 should be corrected to Ine 24, 2 and 32); *wiofode* (dat.) as *wifode*, p. 68<sup>2</sup>; *witeræden* (or *witereden*) as *witerædden*, p. 65, *witeroedden*, Index; *meduman thegene* (dat.) is used instead of the plural *meduman thegenas*, which the sense requires, p. 94 and Index. For *on þonne cynecynn*, p. 30<sup>6</sup>, substitute *on þæt cynecynn*: the *þ* in the text of Chron. 1067 D is the usual abbreviation of *þæt*. For *Angolcynnes witenes*, p. 24, substitute *Angolcynnes witena*. *Gecyndne* (p. 106) is not a nominative form; it is the masculine singular accusative of *gecynde*.

<sup>3</sup> See Liebermann, *Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, ii. 138, s.v. *mæg[e]ð* and *mæg[e]ðbot*.

## FREEMAN AND THE CRISIS OF 1051.

BY BERTIE WILKINSON, M.A., PH.D.

PROFESSOR OF HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO.

AS is well known, Freeman changed very considerably his opinion of the relations of the Canterbury<sup>1</sup> and Worcester versions of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle for the year 1051. In 1855<sup>2</sup> he believed that they were contradictory: "It is not easy to reconcile these two narratives; it is not easy to account for their differences";<sup>3</sup> and he accepted the Worcester rather than the Canterbury version.<sup>4</sup> By 1868 (the first edition of volume II of the *Norman Conquest*) he had changed his mind.<sup>5</sup> He accepted both. The main difference was occasioned, he said, simply by omissions from the Worcester version. Yet Freeman did not give any very convincing reasons for this change. It is true, as he pointed out, that since he last wrote, the *Vita Aeduardi* had come to light; but this account did not really

<sup>1</sup> This is the version of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (Plummer's MS. E) which was later continued at Peterborough and is usually referred to as the Peterborough Chronicle. It is more accurate, and less misleading, for my purpose, to refer to it as above.

<sup>2</sup> *Archæological Journal*, XII, 47 seq. But he nevertheless believed that Edward ordered Godwin to chastise Dover and that the latter refused, which is the Canterbury version. On the other hand he doubted if Godwin went to Beverstone with the peaceable intentions accredited to him by the Canterbury writer: "His appeal for a juster treatment of his people having been once rejected, it would be repeated at the head of the choicest men of the three Earldoms, coupled with threats of an appeal to force if justice were any longer denied."

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 49.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 51.

<sup>5</sup> Vol. II (1st ed.), p. 576, "When, fifteen years back I wrote my papers on the Life and Death of Godwin in the *Archæological Journal* (vol. XII, p. 48), I thought there was a wide difference between the accounts of the two Chroniclers, and that the choice had to be made between them. I now think that there is little or no discrepancy as to the facts." And also in 1870, second edition, Vol. II, p. 600, and in 1877, third edition, p. 617.



affect the problem of the relations between the Worcester and Canterbury chronicles. His change, of fundamental importance, has hardly been questioned as closely as it deserves.<sup>1</sup> Professor Bloch has recently condemned Freeman's method, "en construisant, avec des renseignements pris de toutes mains, un récit artificiellement cohérent";<sup>2</sup> and has pointed out the difficulty of reconciling the accounts of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles with that of the *Vita Aeduardi*; but he does this mainly in order to discredit the *Vita*, which omits all mention of the quarrel of Eustace with the citizens of Dover, the main cause he believes, of the crisis of 1051. The writer of the *Vita*, Professor Bloch suggests, simply did not know the other details: "Eût-il, sans cela, attribué à la brouille entre Godwin et Édouard, une tout autre cause?" But Professor Bloch was not led into questioning, in the same way, either version of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, on the basis of the differences between the two. He seems to accept the composite account of Freeman, in spite of condemning his method. At least he accepts the idea of a complete agreement between the two versions as to the cause of the quarrel between Edward and Godwin.<sup>3</sup> We can hardly leave the matter here. Before we can condemn the *Vita* for not agreeing with the combined versions of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, we must make sure that Freeman was right in believing that the two main versions would combine. All three narratives of the crisis of

<sup>1</sup> But Charles Plummer did not accept it. He gave an analysis of the differences between the three main sources, and remarked that "there are other differences between the two [A.-S. Chronicle] accounts, which, though not so important, are harder to reconcile than perhaps Mr. Freeman allows"; *Two Saxon Chronicles*, II, 235-236. Nor, perhaps, did John Richard Green, as early as 1883, in *The Conquest of England*, pp. 526-528. Unfortunately this was only published after Green's death; he was never able to discuss the matter adequately, or the following discussion would probably not have been required. Most modern writers seem to have accepted Freeman's later views.

<sup>2</sup> 'La Vie de S. Édouard le Confesseur par Osbert de Clare' in *Analecta Bollandiana*, t. XLI, p. 27.

<sup>3</sup> *Analecta Bollandiana*, t. XLI, p. 28. "En 1051 les gens de Douvres s'étant pris de querelle avec la suite d'Eustache de Boulogne, beau-frère de S. Édouard, le roi, embrassant la cause de son parent—un étranger—commanda à Godwin, comte de Kent, de châtier la ville; le comte refusa; telle fut, nous disent, d'un commun accord, les deux Chroniques l'origine première de sa disgrâce."

1051 must, in justice, be compared with each other, not the *Vita* with the other two combined. If we cannot agree with Freeman, we may not find it easy to agree completely with Professor Bloch.

On the main questions arising out of the crisis of 1051, the three most valuable sources,<sup>1</sup> in spite of Freeman's attempt to reconcile them, are, as Peter Abélard said of more important things, not only different but opposed. The *Vita Aeduardi* does not mention the quarrel at Dover;<sup>2</sup> the two versions of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle agree in making this the great occasion of the dispute between Edward and Godwin, but differ in nearly all else. The Canterbury version makes the crisis develop because Edward unjustly ordered Godwin to punish the citizens of Dover without trial; and "Then the king sent after all his 'witan', and bade them come to Gloucester";<sup>3</sup> whilst Godwin gathered his 'witan' at Beverstone, nearby. The Worcester version, on the other hand, represents Godwin as gathering his supporters together immediately after the incident at Dover, because he 'took it hard that in his earldom such a thing should happen'. According to the Canterbury writer, it was Edward who attacked the Earl; according to the Worcester writer it was Godwin who attacked the king—he gathered 'a great army without number, all ready for war against the king, unless Eustace were given up and his men into their hands, and also the French-

<sup>1</sup> There is no need perhaps to discuss other sources at length. Florence of Worcester accepts completely the Worcester version (edited Stevenson, p. 283). Henry of Huntingdon says simply: "Edwardus . . . dedit Roberto episcopo Londoniae archiepiscopatum Cantuariæ. Regi vero delatum est quod Godwinus gener suus, et Suein filius ejus, et Haraldus prodituri eum essent. Quos in causam vocatos, cum sine obsidibus venire recusarent, rex exulavit." (*Historiæ* (R.S.) edited Thomas Arnold, p. 193) Roger of Wendover's account (*Flores Historiarum*, in *Rogeri De Wendover Chronica*, I, 488-489 (edited H. O. Coxe, Eng. Hist. Soc.)), agrees with Florence of Worcester's. William of Malmesbury, on the other hand, at first follows the Canterbury version of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (*Gesta Regum Anglorum*, edited by T. D. Hardy (R.S.), I, 241-242). But he is quite clear that it was an army which Godwin gathered at Beverstone. The later writers do not add anything material to our knowledge.

<sup>2</sup> *Vita Aeduardi Regis*, edited by H. R. Luard in *Lives of Edward the Confessor* (R.S.), 1858, pp. 400-401.

<sup>3</sup> *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, edited B. Thorpe (R.S.), 1861, II, 144; *Two Saxon Chronicles Parallel*, edited by C. Plummer (1892), I, 173.

men who were in the castle".<sup>1</sup> All three sources disagree as to what was ultimately the supreme issue between Godwin and the king. The *Vita Aeduardi* asserts that it was the accusation of Robert of Jumièges that Godwin had been responsible for Alfred's death, fifteen years before; the Canterbury chronicle sticks to the original cause of the quarrel, adding however, an apparently entirely irrelevant remark about the 'Welshmen' who 'then built a castle in Herefordshire, among the followers of earl Swegen, and wrought every kind of harm and insult to the king's men thereabout that they could';<sup>2</sup> the Worcester version introduces a new issue, with Godwin's demand for the surrender of Eustace and the foreigners 'in the castle'. The Canterbury writer makes Edward summon 'all his witan' to Gloucester; the Worcester scribe represents him as summoning only the followers of Leofric and Siward. The meeting at Gloucester, for one writer, is a meeting for peace; for the other, a meeting for war. For a third, Gloucester is only the locality of the king's court, a centre of dissension and intrigue.

Freeman undertook to reconcile the sources. He did in fact, in the end construct a composite narrative, with important elements from each.<sup>3</sup> He believed, as we have seen, in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle's view of the importance of the affair at Dover. He adopted the view of the Canterbury version that after this Godwin was conciliatory and Edward aggressive. Godwin's army at Beverstone was, he believed "either for debate or for battle";<sup>4</sup> for the Anglo-Saxon Gemot was really a ready-made army, and Godwin's military array at Beverstone was, conversely, if things went peaceably, nothing more than a *gemót* of his followers, not necessarily constituting a threat of military force.

<sup>1</sup> Plummer, I, 175: "mycel fyrd 7 unarimedlic". Thorpe did not quite bring out the full significance of this, with his "great and countless force" (*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, II, 147).

<sup>2</sup> *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, edited Thorpe, II, 144; Plummer, I, 173-174. Plummer (II, 237) says that here 'welisce' simply means 'foreign' and not Welshmen, as it is translated by William of Malmesbury (I, 242), and many modern translators. It is curious that William should have been misled—but 'welisce' was, to say the least, a misleading term, not used by the Worcester scribe. See p. 379 below.

<sup>3</sup> His reasons are given at length in *N.C.*, II, 616-622. <sup>4</sup> *N.C.*, II, 141.



The situation was, however, worsened by the poisoning of the king's mind, which he took from the *Vita Aeduardi*. After this, he accepted from the Worcester Chronicle the demand of Godwin that the king should surrender Eustace.

But this composite account is open to criticism both as to method and result. As regards the latter, it does not really explain Edward's sudden anger against Godwin, unreasonable even for an unreasonable king, or, on the other hand, Godwin's haste to gather an army at Beverstone, before any hostile measures had actually been taken against him. It does not fully explain the strong support which Edward received from the rest of the country in his unjust attack, or Godwin's failure to await his trial. It is usually assumed that all this can be accounted for by the theory of a divided England, distracted by jealous magnates and disliking an overbearing Earl. But a serious objection to this view is that it explains too much. It accounts for Godwin's exile so satisfactorily that we are quite at a loss to understand why he was ever able to return. Even the most ingenious explanations, erected on this basis, seem to leave something to be desired. Nor, finally, is Freeman's reconstruction of the crisis easy to reconcile with what we know of both Godwin and the king. If it was unlike Godwin to run away, when—for once—he was so much in the right, it was equally unlike Edward to take such energetic steps against the Earl, and even go to the extent of repudiating the Earl's daughter Edith, all for the sake of the quarrel at Dover. To explain Edward's anger by the charges against Godwin made by Robert of Jumièges, is to go behind the version of events offered by the Worcester Chronicle at least and, to a less extent, by the Canterbury Chronicle as well. In any case, the ultimate difficulty of three almost irreconcilable accounts has to be more squarely faced. We cannot, like Freeman, simply accept thankfully the contributions of all three.

"The particular facts", he said, with regard to the Worcester and Canterbury Chronicles,<sup>1</sup> "on which each insists, are in no way contradictory, and I accept both". If he had, in fact, done this, we should still, with Professor Bloch, have to question his method: in reality this simple profession of his position will

<sup>1</sup> *N.C.*, II, 619.

hardly suffice. If he accepted all the facts, he placed them in a setting which was all his own. The facts appeared in his narrative, but their significance was changed. Though we might gather that he had an equal regard for all the sources, in reality he was compelled by the logic of the situation to prefer one to the other, for, as we have seen, they told different tales. His combination of the sources in 1868 covers a process of selection as rigorous, though in the opposite direction, as in 1855. In the former year he chose the Worcester Chronicle; in the latter, though unavowed, it was the Canterbury Chronicle which he preferred. This was not necessarily wrong. Any interpretation of the crisis will have to be based on a preference, one way or the other, almost equally strong. And with the doubtful and conflicting evidence which exists there will inevitably be objections to any interpretation we adopt. The criticism of Freeman's method is simply that he did not sufficiently state and justify his ultimate preferences. Incidentally, he obscured, and never, perhaps, sufficiently accounted for, what was not so much a modification, as a complete reversal of his considered judgment on the sources, between 1855 and 1868.

It seems worth while attempting to analyse the evidence afresh. Before proceeding to do this, however, one or two general observations should perhaps be made on the situation in 1051. In the first place, the crisis, as it is generally believed, involved much bigger issues than that of Godwin's refusal to carry out the king's command. Godwin's flight involved the loss of the bishopric of London by Spearhafoc; his triumph later resulted in the exile of Robert of Jumièges. We may take the hostility between Godwin and the foreign prelates as being very real. The struggle of 1051 was a struggle of parties, in which many besides Edward and Godwin were involved. In the second place, Godwin was tending to lose ground with the king immediately before the crisis of 1051 occurred. Robert of Jumièges had just been appointed Archbishop of Canterbury<sup>1</sup> in preference to the monk Aelfric, perhaps a kinsman of Godwin himself, whom Godwin had

<sup>1</sup> According to the *Vita Aeduardi* he was very influential with the king: "immersit se altius quam necesse erat in disponenda regalium consiliorum et actuum serie" (*loc. cit.*, p. 399).

supported ; and Robert had refused to accept Spearhafoc, Abbot of Abingdon, no doubt another supporter of Godwin, as his successor in London. Spearhafoc occupied the see without the Archbishop's consent, but it is possible that he was in imminent danger of being replaced by a foreign prelate when the crisis of 1051 occurred (on Godwin's flight the bishopric was given to William the Norman, a chaplain of the king).<sup>1</sup> We must not overstress these events ; but if, as later developments undoubtedly showed, there was considerable friction between Godwin and the foreign prelates, the Earl may well have felt, in 1051, that it was time some effort was made to stop this process whereby the exceedingly important ecclesiastical power in the country was gradually passing into hostile hands.

It is in the light of these facts that we must approach the problem of what happened in 1051. And, bearing in mind the attitude of the different writers, it seems possible to establish one main conclusion with a fair measure of certainty, on which all our interpretation of the crisis will depend. Godwin and not Edward was the real aggressor. The story of Edward's unfair command, and Godwin's refusal, to punish the citizens of Dover comes from one source only—that which was notoriously a partisan of the Earl. The fact that later writers have accepted it proves very little. What we are considering are the primary authorities for the crisis.<sup>2</sup> Freeman prejudiced his whole interpretation by not only accepting this story without clearly expressed reserves, but also by borrowing, from such an authority as William of Malmesbury, the assertion that Godwin left Edward's court on this issue, thus apparently only resorting to a threat of violence when elementary justice had been denied. But William of Malmesbury's story<sup>3</sup> is supported by no other source. Even

<sup>1</sup> *N.C.*, II, 162.

<sup>2</sup> William of Malmesbury is not always a trustworthy authority for events in 1051. Freeman uses a long speech which William put into Godwin's mouth, demanding a fair trial for the men of Dover (*N.C.*, II, 137). But William was 'thoroughly favourable to Godwin'. He followed the *Canterbury Chronicle*. His testimony is of no great value compared with that of earlier or more independent writers.

<sup>3</sup> *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, edited by W. Stubbs (R.S.), 1887, I, 241-242. The chronicle was, of course, finished about seventy-five years after the crisis of 1051.



the Canterbury writer suggests that while Edward's 'witan' gathered at Gloucester, Godwin's followers were being assembled at Beverstone; <sup>1</sup> whilst both the Worcester writer and the biographer agree in presenting a version of events in which it was almost impossible that Godwin should have been present at Gloucester.<sup>2</sup> We cannot accept William's version at this point; it looks too much like an embroidering of the Canterbury account. Godwin did not plead his cause in the king's court, or in a Witenagemót at Gloucester; we have grounds for believing that he attempted to 'plead' it from Beverstone, backed by the armies of East Anglia and Wessex. If this should be established, our whole conception of Godwin's attitude in the crisis will have to be revised.

This brings us to what is perhaps the central problem of the crisis,—the nature and composition of the assemblies at Gloucester and Beverstone, a point at which Freeman, in his later work, felt called upon to defend himself at some length. And well he might, for here he has attempted to reconcile the two versions of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle by arguing that 'in those days an army and a Witenagemót were *very nearly* the same thing' (the italics are mine), so that when the one writer referred to the assembly at Beverstone in terms appropriate to a *gemót*, and the other described it as an army, they might well have been indicating the same thing. But this seems to be carrying a passion for reconciling conflicting versions a little too far. The two passages may be set out side by side:

<sup>1</sup> *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, II, 144. 'Then the king sent after all his "witan" and bade them come to Gloucester . . . [here follows the passage cited elsewhere, describing the ravages of the "Welshmen"]. Then came earl Godwine, and earl Swegen and earl Harold, together at Beverston. . . .'

<sup>2</sup> *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, II, 147. 'When earl Godwine understood that such things should have happened in his earldom, he began to gather people over all his earldom; and earl Swegen, his son, over his, and Harold, his other son, over his earldom; and they all gathered in Gloucestershire, at Langtree.' According to the *Vita*, the king perturbed by the talk of Godwin's complicity in Alfred's death, summoned the "potentes et duces" from all Britain to the royal palace at Gloucester. Godwin heard "per quosdam fideles" of the accusations which were being made at Gloucester and "missis legatis pacem regis petivit" (*loc. cit.*, p. 401). There is not much doubt that, on this point, the most important authorities are, for once, in substantial agreement, and are against the version of William of Malmesbury.

Then came earl Godwine and Swegen, and earl Harold, together at Beverston, and many men with them, in order that they might go to their royal lord, and to all the 'witan' who were gathered with him, that they might have the counsel and support of the king and of all the 'witan', how they might avenge the insult to the king and to all the nation.

*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, II, 144-45.

and earl Swegen, his son, . . . and Harold, his other son, . . . they all gathered in Gloucestershire, at Langtree, a great and countless force (*fyrð*) all ready for war against the king, unless Eustace were given up. . . .

*Ibid.*, II, 147; cf. note 1, p. 371 above.

It is perhaps true to argue, with Freeman, that there was at times little difference in personnel between a *witenagemót* and an army. But surely this fact—if it be a fact—has very little bearing on the sense of the passage from the Worcester Chronicle. What the writer of this was describing was an army "all ready for war"; what the Canterbury scribe suggests is a peaceful assembly eager for "the counsel and support of the king". Two such different purposes cannot be made to agree. In reality, Freeman, whilst ostensibly combining the two sources, at this point has to make his choice—and chooses that favourable to Godwin.

Yet the choice does not seem to be a happy one. Against it we have to place the vagueness and evasion, at this same point, of the chronicle he has chosen; and—secondly—the nature of the corresponding assembly at Gloucester, which seems to have been just as military in intention and composition as the Worcester Chronicle asserts that the meeting at Beverstone was.

The inconsistencies of the Canterbury story of the crisis are fairly clear. According to this writer, all that happened before the summons to Beverstone was that Godwin had refused to chastise the men of Dover, and Edward had summoned the *Witenagemót* to Gloucester. Why did Godwin not attend? Freeman and William of Malmesbury got out of this difficulty by making him actually go and protest passionately before the king on behalf of the townsmen, only departing when his protest was of no avail. But even the Canterbury writer does not say this. He only says that Godwin would not agree to punish the citizens.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *A.-S. Chron.*, II, 144; 'And the earl would not agree to the inroad, because he was loath to injure his own followers.'

The chronicler has, accordingly, no adequate motive for the gathering at Beverstone. He does not even venture to claim that Godwin was acting in self-defence. He represents him as summoning the whole might of his family to support the king and 'avenge the insult to the king and to all the nation' perpetrated—apparently—by a few obscure Frenchmen on the borders of Wales! Godwin's reason for this extreme and extraordinary measure seems incredibly weak; the scribe's argument that the host, thus summoned, apart from the king at Gloucester, was simply for support and advice is equally difficult to understand. To gather such a host at Beverstone, in face of the king's summons of his witan to Gloucester would seem, at the very least, to constitute an unfriendly act. Even if debate was still possible, it was a threat of war.<sup>1</sup> Or else we should insist on the peaceful intentions of the Northumbrians at Northampton in 1065, or of the confederates gathering at Stamford against John. These 'assemblies' did not threaten violence—so long as the king would concede their demands. When the Canterbury writer talks of the host at Beverstone gathering simply for counsel and advice, he protests too much. He makes it clear that he is so partisan that he will not, or cannot, face the logic of his own facts. We may fully concede that Godwin wished to use his assembly at Beverstone for debate; what we may not deny is that he also used it, in the first instance, to threaten war. However much we emphasise his peaceful intentions, we must concede that he sought to make his arguments invincible by a threat of force. Even if we had not got the straightforward assertions of the Worcester Chronicle, we should be compelled to question the impartiality of the Canterbury scribe. It is hard to avoid the impression that his story is a deliberate, though not very skilful, evasion of an unwelcome truth.

This impression is reinforced when we turn to the corresponding assembly at Gloucester. To the Canterbury writer,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Roger of Wendover, *op. cit.*, p. 489, "ingentem exercitum collegerunt"; Florence of Worcester, 'Godwin and his sons and their respective armies came to Gloucestershire' (*op. cit.*, p. 283); William of Malmesbury, "soli Godwinus ejusque filii, qui se suspectos scirent, sine praesidio armorum veniendum non arbitrati, cum manu valida Beverstane restiterunt" (*op. cit.*, I 242). The later writers are unanimous on this point.



as we have seen, it was the 'witan',—'all his witan'<sup>1</sup>—to the Worcester scribe it was composed only of the armies of Leofric and Siward.<sup>2</sup> Here, however, we have the advantage of the *Vita* which, in spite of telling a very different story, describes the same setting and—possibly—complementary facts. It represents the gathering at Gloucester as being summoned as a result of the quarrel between Godwin and Robert, and possibly as a result of the charges which Robert had made. But—and this is the important point—it was not summoned to judge Godwin or, apparently, to discuss the quarrel. Edward was already so incensed that he would not hear of Godwin's defence. Moreover, Godwin was not there. He heard of the charges and sent to ask if he might clear himself. It was an assembly of his enemies—Siward, Leofric, and the rest—just as the Worcester Chronicler says it was.<sup>3</sup>

It is probable that it was not, and in the end was not intended to be, a meeting of the 'witan'. It is significant that, for the trial of Godwin, the Witenagemót was summoned to meet at London, to which Godwin himself was summoned.<sup>4</sup> This, it seems likely, is the real explanation of the summoning of this *gemót*,—"ut foeda accusatio in legem transferretur iudicii".<sup>5</sup> It was necessary to summon the Witenagemót in London, it seems probable, because the gathering at Gloucester, despite the Canterbury

<sup>1</sup> *A.-S. Chronicle*, II, 144. Plummer, I, 173; "eallon his witan". William of Malmesbury, who follows this version, says that "Quocirca totius regni proceres jussi Glocestram convenire, ut ibi magno conventu res ventileretur"; *Gesta*, I, 242.

<sup>2</sup> *A.-S. Chronicle*, II, 147-148. So likewise Florence of Worcester, p. 282.

<sup>3</sup> There seems to be no evidence—save Florence of Worcester—for Freeman's picture of Leofric's mediation (*N.C.*, II, 146-147). As against this, we have the Worcester Chronicle saying that "then were they all so unanimous with the king, that they would have sought Godwine's force, if the king had willed it" (p. 148). Plummer, however, accepts Florence in *Two Saxon Chronicles*, II, 237. We may follow his example. But we must not go further and imagine that Leofric had come to Gloucester as anything but a supporter of the king.

<sup>4</sup> It is interesting to notice that *both* the army *and* the Witenagemót were summoned—for obvious reasons. It seems as if both Witenagemót and army declared Godwin outlaw, according to the Worcester version (p. 148), Plummer, I, 175: "se cyng hæfde þaes on morgen witena and gemot 7 cwæð hine ut lage 7 eall here hine 7 'ealle' his suna".

<sup>5</sup> *Vita Aeduardi*, p. 402.

writer, was not properly constituted to carry out the functions of a Witenagemót at all. Although the constitution of the Witenagemót was arbitrary and undefined, still there were probably some rough and ready standards to be applied, and a gathering of partisans in arms would not satisfy public opinion. The delay, it may be argued, would give Edward time to strengthen his position. But this was a questionable expedient. On the whole it is tempting to suggest that if Edward could have regarded the assembly at Gloucester as a Witenagemót suitable for settling the dispute with Godwin, he would.

So far, we have mainly dealt in a negative sense with the Canterbury account. This has been necessary because Freeman, in fact, if not in theory, based his reconstruction on this account. Rejecting his version, in its main assumption of Godwin's innocence, and William of Malmesbury's confirmatory story of the injustice of Edward at Gloucester, we have to proceed to a more constructive analysis, based more particularly on the other two main accounts. We are in the end, driven back mainly on the Worcester version—as Freeman was in 1855. Not because the *Vita Aeduardi* is false or uninformed: this has yet to be proved; but because the Worcester scribe gives us a version of the struggle which seems to be more comprehensive, though perhaps no more reliable than the *Vita*, in its point of view. Thus, it now seems likely, though there was an important quarrel between Eustace and the citizens of Dover, Godwin precipitated the real crisis of 1051 by his demand for the surrender of Eustace and of the foreigners of Richard's castle.<sup>1</sup> Behind this sudden move, we may gather from the *Vita*, was a situation of acute hostility between Godwin and the king's foreign advisers led by Robert of Jumièges, in which Godwin had probably already been accused of complicity in Alfred's death, a situation the existence of which we have no reason to disbelieve, and which, on the contrary, helps to explain the bitterness of the struggle in 1051.<sup>2</sup> Since we have diminished the importance of the episode

<sup>1</sup> This second demand is confirmed by the Canterbury scribe.

<sup>2</sup> It is possible that, at one point, the Canterbury scribe betrays a knowledge of wider issues between Godwin and Edward than he will allow. Perhaps, when he says that the gathering at Beverstone was going to avenge the 'insult to the

at Dover, as the cause of the crisis, we must not allow its omission from the *Vita Aeduardi* to weigh very heavily against the credibility of the biographer, or to establish his ignorance of important events. The Worcester scribe, on the other hand, almost equally well informed, is less circumscribed by the influence of the Court. Not very friendly to Godwin, we have nevertheless no cause to believe that he was anxious to discredit the Earl. On the contrary, he has avoided any mention of the charges made by Robert of Jumièges, which were part of a court intrigue with which he had no concern. He may, indeed, not have known about them; but on other points he was well informed. All the writers have their bias. That, and not ignorance, is probably the reason for such diverse accounts. But the Worcester scribe probably had least of all. We must make him the foremost of our sources—as Freeman did in 1855.

On this basis we may briefly discuss the remainder of the crisis. The worst was over when, after the forces at Beverstone and Gloucester had threatend violence to each other, calmer counsel prevailed, and it was decided to summon a Witenagemót to help settle the dispute. This was in reality a defeat for the Earl. He was to come to London not to negotiate, but to be tried—'and earl Godwine and his sons should come thither with their defence'.<sup>1</sup> The Canterbury version of the Chronicle says simply that Godwin and Harold were summoned to attend.<sup>2</sup> But the *Vita*, if I understand the biographer aright, agrees entirely with the Worcester version at this point: "*Frustra ergo cunctis enitentibus ut foeda accusatio in legem transferretur iudicii, ab eo palatio commigravit regalis curia Lundoniam*".<sup>3</sup>

king and to all the nation' inflicted by the 'Welshmen' of Richard's castle he was deliberately refraining from introducing the French. As has been remarked before, the choice of this term is puzzling—compare the Worcester scribe's "Frencyscan" (Plummer, I, 175. But see Freeman, *N.C.*, II, 140; Plummer, II, 237). At any rate, the scribe carefully limited the 'Foreigners', who were being attacked, to those of Richard's castle. Even then, he chose the somewhat uncommon term 'Welisce' to describe his foreigners, fearful, perhaps, lest he drag in the whole body of Godwin's opponents.

<sup>1</sup> *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (Worcester), II, 148, Plummer, I, 175: "sceolde Godwine eorl. ȝ his suna ƿær cuman to wiƿer male".

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Canterbury, p. 145: "and earl Godwine and earl Harold were summoned to the 'gemôt' as speedily as they could come to it."

<sup>3</sup> *Vita*, p. 402.



Godwin, we must therefore believe, had completely failed in his challenge at Beverstone.<sup>1</sup> He was compelled to lay aside his demands and, instead of attacking, to defend himself before a national *gemót*. We must accordingly reject Freeman's view of the London assembly as intended primarily for the purpose of a "free and fair discussion of all disputes between two parties".<sup>2</sup> The Canterbury scribe is here once more—and the king gave God's peace and his full friendship to each side<sup>3</sup>—putting the best face on things for his hero Godwin. But once more, he cannot avoid creating difficulties for himself. He has to make the Witenagemót at Gloucester 'decree' that 'on each side every kind of evil should cease', and then Edward gave his peace to each side. But it is he who has throughout insisted on regarding this as a quarrel between Godwin and Edward himself. Moreover he has now placed himself in the untenable position of maintaining that the 'witan' at Gloucester imposed terms on both king and earl, a view which obtains no support whatever from the other two sources or from what we know of the scanty constitutional tradition. And he has simply to omit the striking fact recorded in the Worcester version, that after this 'victory' for Godwin's policy 'his band waned ever the longer the more'.<sup>4</sup> That Godwin did, indeed, find himself in an altogether weaker position at London, is not only borne out by the facts themselves, but by the stories of the *Vita* of his humility there, stories which if not true in detail, may well reflect the real weakness of Godwin's position.

We have to conclude that Edward found himself so strongly supported at Gloucester that he was able to insist on Godwin answering in London for his misdeeds. Even the Canterbury

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Roger of Wendover, *op. cit.*, p. 489, "Godwinus vero, sicut cum rege praelium conserere non audebat. . . ."

<sup>2</sup> *N.C.*, II, 150. As also his reference to "a compromise . . . in which his party and the King's party are carefully put on equal terms" (p. 158).

<sup>3</sup> *A.-S. Chronicle*, p. 145.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 148. This is something which Freeman found "difficult to understand" (*op. cit.*, p. 158)—"it is hard", he says, "to see how Godwine could have given fresh offence to anyone in the time between the conference at Gloucester and his appearance at Southwark". But Freeman would not admit that Godwin's position was weakened by the agreement to appear before king and witan at London.

scribe represents him later as demanding a safe conduct 'that he might clear himself of each of the things that he was charged with'.<sup>1</sup> There was not, therefore, as Freeman suggests<sup>2</sup> any breaking at London, of the agreement at Gloucester. What exactly Godwin had imagined he would be charged with in London, we cannot say; nor indeed, are the charges which the king was preparing against him, clear. It seems certain that there was more than one charge.<sup>3</sup> He would certainly have to answer for the assembly at Beverstone. But also, if we are to believe the *Vita*, Edward was determined to press home the accusation of complicity in Alfred's death. There is no reason to disbelieve this. On the contrary, righteous indignation of this sort would best explain the extravagance of Edward's hostility to Godwin at this point, and perhaps also Godwin's refusal to stand his trial. Perhaps the speech which the biographer puts into the mouth of Robert,<sup>4</sup> who is made to inform Godwin that unless he can restore Alfred to life he may not hope for peace, sums up the attitude of Godwin's enemies at this point. Stripped of his army and deserted, he chose to flee. It is possible that the Canterbury scribe is correct in stating that he asked for a safe conduct for the trial. He may well have done so when he discovered how relentless his enemies had become.

Of his flight and subsequent recovery, little need be said. His fall, it has been suggested above, which Freeman found so hard to explain,<sup>5</sup> was due to a policy of aggression which failed. This failure was due to the conduct of the northern Earls, and a word or two should perhaps be said on their attitude, at this point. This also puzzled Freeman—"it is in his [Leofric's] position and that of Siward that the main difficulty lies".<sup>6</sup> He could not understand what he considered to be their change of front after Gloucester,—“as for the Northern Earls and their followers, they had no ground of jealousy against Godwine in London which they had not equally at Gloucester”. But this

<sup>1</sup> *A.-S. Chronicle*, p. 145.

<sup>2</sup> *N.C.*, II, 148. 'Instead of this agreement being carried out, Godwine and his sons found themselves dealt with as criminals.'

<sup>3</sup> The Canterbury scribe admits this; *A.-S. Chron.*, p. 145, cited above; Plummer, I, 175; "aelc þæra þinga þe him man on lede".

<sup>4</sup> *Vita*, p. 402.

<sup>5</sup> See *N.C.*, II, 158-159.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

is because he believed that "at Gloucester they clearly were not disposed to push matters to extremities", whereas at London they were. It has already been suggested that this misrepresents the situation at and after Gloucester; it may now be suggested that, in the first place, Freeman tended to overstress the power and influence of the northern Earls, at least as modifying the policy of the king; in the second, there is no clear evidence that their influence, such as it was, changed appreciably between Gloucester and London. That they saved Edward from Godwin there can be no doubt. For all that, he, and not they, decided the procedure after this. No contemporary writer suggests that they supplied Edward's policy: on the contrary it seems clear that Edward, for once, would suffer no restraint. His was the final decision—"they would have sought Godwin's force, if the king had willed it" (*Worcester Chronicle*).<sup>1</sup> The Canterbury scribe said that the 'witan' at Gloucester 'decreed that on each side every kind of evil should cease';<sup>2</sup> but, as we have seen, he was anxious to make events at this point centre round a Witenagemót at Gloucester which should impose an honourable peace on both sides. The writer of the *Vita*, perhaps not unnaturally, makes the decisions depend directly on the king. It is hard to reject his explicit assertion, however, that the decision to proceed against Godwin in London, on the charge of complicity in Alfred's death, was taken "frustra . . . cunctis enitentibus", by the king alone. Archbishop Robert brought his uncompromising message to the Earl from the king.<sup>3</sup> Edward was, we know, at times very headstrong,<sup>4</sup> in spite of his inability to stand alone.

Though it may be necessary to modify the Worcester scribe's assertion that Leofric and Siward were anxious, at Gloucester, to attack Godwin, it is clear enough that they were resolute in defence of the king at this stage of the crisis. Florence of

<sup>1</sup> *A.-S. Chron.*, p. 148.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 145.

<sup>3</sup> *Vita*, p. 402: "tandem a rege prolata est in ducem haec indissolubilis causae quae agebatur diffinitio".

<sup>4</sup> *N.C.*, II, 23. William of Malmesbury (I, 242) says Edward was in a fury, though his testimony, at this point, is not always trustworthy. More important is the assertion of the biographer, "Nam adeo super hujus sceleris fide animum rex induxerat, ut nec verbum aliquod oblatae purgationis audire posset" (*Vita*, p. 401).



Worcester says, indeed, that Leofric mediated at Gloucester,<sup>1</sup> and this may be true. At least there is no suggestion anywhere that he or any other Englishman compelled or even urged the king to treat Godwin so high-handedly and to attack even Godwin's daughter, his own wife. It is true that the earldom of East Anglia was bestowed on Aelfgar, son of Leofric;<sup>2</sup> but the king's nephew Ralph received a share of the Godwin lands, Odda possibly another kinsman of the king received the western parts of Wessex, and Edward himself may have stepped into Godwin's position over the greater portion of Wessex.<sup>3</sup> It does not seem likely that Leofric and Siward drove Edward on for the sake of gain. Nor did they support Edward energetically when Godwin later strove to return. Indeed it is probable that their neutrality at this time decided the issue. Edward had nowhere he could turn for support: 'he sent up after more succour, but it came very slowly'.<sup>4</sup>

On the whole, the evidence is that the Earls became less rather than more pronounced in their hostility to Godwin. In other words, though they had come south to support Edward, the king and his foreign advisers went too fast and too far, for their liking, in hostility to the Earl. It was the Archbishop, Robert, who expressed Edward's unyielding hostility to Godwin at Southwark. Far from explaining the quarrel by the jealousy of the northern Earls for Godwin, it seems likely that, in the end, Leofric and Siward tended towards neutrality, and an acceptance of Godwin's return.

Several conclusions of some importance seem to be suggested by this attempted reconstruction of events. Of the three main authorities, the least trustworthy by far is the Canterbury version of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. It is so strongly partisan that, even though the scribe does not, perhaps, invent incidents, he unscrupulously distorts every episode so as to redound to his hero's credit. He misrepresents the nature of the assemblies at Gloucester and Beverstone, and of the agreement which led to the Witenagemót at London. He may even have changed the

<sup>1</sup> *Chronicle*, edited Stevenson, p. 283.

<sup>2</sup> *N.C.*, II, 161-162; *Canterbury Chronicle*, II, 146.

<sup>3</sup> *N.C.*, II, 160; Plummer, I, 178, 180.      <sup>4</sup> Plummer, I, 180.

occasion of Eustace's journey to Dover,—making it occur on his *return from* Edward—so as to enhance the deliberate provocation of which he was guilty, and so strengthen Godwin's position by establishing the innocence of the citizens he refused to punish without law.<sup>1</sup> The *Vita Aeduardi* does not come out so badly : we have no clear reason, in this reconstruction, to question seriously the writer's knowledge of the facts, or his desire, within certain well-marked limits, to express the truth. The Worcester version, as we have already seen, comes out best of all. If each account gives us something we can accept, at least one—the Canterbury version—gives us much we must reject. We cannot simply combine them all.

As to the facts themselves, we have seen that there is a case for assuming that the crisis of 1051 started with the aggression of Godwin, attempting to browbeat the king at Beverstone by a show of force. The story we have subsequently extracted from our sources is the logical consequence of this. Against the threat of violence, the North and Midlands rallied to the king. Strongly supported at Gloucester, the king insisted on a vindictive punishment of Godwin which swung the pendulum the other way. It is doubtful how far he got the free consent of the 'witan' at London for what he did. At each turn of the crisis, it was the voice of the 'nation' which ultimately decided the issue ; and the 'nation' was on the whole reasonable and 'constitutional' in its demands. In interpreting the crisis, we must not exaggerate the territorial divisions and jealousies, though these

<sup>1</sup> In making Eustace quarrel with the citizens whilst on his way back from Edward, the scribe is able to add the remarkable detail that his men put on their armour before reaching the city. This establishes their truculence, but is not very easy to believe, since we know of no reason why Eustace and his men should have feared violence from the citizens. It is difficult, indeed, to think that anti-foreign feeling was so strong. The scribe, by placing the incident on the return journey also links up Eustace with the other foreigners at court, and thus supplies —by inference—a further motive for the hostility of the citizens. There was little to justify the citizens of Dover in attacking men who had just landed peaceably from the sea, unless their action was provocative in the extreme. Knowing what we do of the partisan nature of the Canterbury account, it is perhaps permissible to regard the story of the preparations made by Eustace's soldiers outside Dover as artistic embellishment. There seems to be no reason, in this straight-forward clash between the versions of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, for accepting the Canterbury version.

undoubtedly played a considerable part. A prominent feature was dislike of the influence of the foreigner which Godwin strove to use for his own ends. But it was more than balanced by a widespread hostility to the violator of the 'constitution', a condemnation of the threat of war which Godwin somewhat rashly employed. His own supporters deserted Godwin between Gloucester and London. We might almost say that it was 'nationalism' and 'constitutionalism', the former of which he tried to use, the latter, to ignore, which defeated Godwin in 1051. If it is urged that 'constitutionalism' meant very little indeed in Godwin's day, at least, we can argue, it was something more than jealousy of Godwin which brought Leofric and Siward to Edward's help at Gloucester (though jealousy probably played a part), as is conclusively shown by their acquiescence in Godwin's return in 1052. It was not so much, perhaps, that "Englishmen welcomed Godwine back again, because they had learned what it was to be without him",<sup>1</sup> as that the most powerful Englishman had never really wished him to be broken so completely, or thought that he could be broken so completely, for the benefit of and to appease the hostility of a few foreign friends of the king, headed by Robert of Jumièges. There were habits and traditions of political action in England which neither Godwin nor Edward could easily break.

It is possible, indeed that the force and importance of these traditions, even as operating under the unfortunate Edward, have not been sufficiently stressed. The threat of civil war in the great crises of 1051 and 1065 has perhaps been allowed to obscure unduly the fact that, not only in both cases were important issues involved—issues which would have brought men near to violence in any country of the West—but that, in both cases, the issues were ultimately settled without strife. Both the crises of 1051 and 1065, if they show how delicate was the balance producing peace in the rudimentary constitution of the age, also illustrate the presence of a tendency to avoid an entirely reckless and indiscriminate employment of force. They illustrate both the strength and the weakness of the Anglo-Saxon state, but

<sup>1</sup> *N.C.*, II, 157. What, precisely, would Freeman have suggested that they learned?



perhaps a correct appreciation of their significance should dwell more particularly on the strength. At least, we may suggest, this has, in the past, been unduly ignored. It is the very admirers of Anglo-Saxon genius such as Freeman who have done most to obscure the promise of the constitution under Edward the Confessor, by regarding the great struggle of 1051 as simply the triumph of an unjust and petty monarch, helped by the jealousies and separatism of the earls, over the desires and feelings of the nation, mainly supporting Godwin ; whereas the truth, it seems probable, was almost exactly the reverse. The triumph of Edward in 1051 was the triumph of the monarch and the nation over a powerful and rebellious earl—the most powerful which Anglo-Saxon England had as yet produced. The return of Godwin was the triumph of the nation and the law over the personal vindictiveness of an angry and irresponsible king.

## A PARLIAMENTARY DEBATE OF THE MID-FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

By A. R. MYERS, M.A.

LECTURER IN MEDIÆVAL HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LIVERPOOL.

NOT so very long ago the subject of parliamentary procedure in mediæval England was still a dark and mysterious region. That great explorer of mediæval constitutional history, Stubbs, for all his experience and learning, admitted how very little was known for certain of mediæval parliamentary procedure, and had to eke out his description with a long extract from an Elizabethan account of the manner of holding parliament, that of Sir Thomas Smith. "Published speeches, the diaries of clerks and members, unauthorised and authorised reports of debate, enable us to realise, in the case of the later parliaments, almost all that is historically important. For the mediæval period we have no such helps and for some particular parts of it we have no light at all. . . ."<sup>1</sup> When Redlich wrote, knowledge was still scanty; his pronouncement was that "In no department of parliamentary activity have we any description of the debates, or indeed of any technical details as to the order of business in the proper sense of the expression."<sup>2</sup> In recent years a good deal of attention has been paid to this question, and we are now nearer to an understanding of it than Stubbs and Redlich were. The light thus shed has not, however, been by any means sufficient to render clearly visible all the workings of the parliamentary machine, many of which are still in varying degrees of obscurity. It is for this reason that the brief manuscript here printed, containing an account of a mid-fifteenth century parliamentary debate, is of considerable interest. The

<sup>1</sup> *The Constitutional History of England*, iii. 390.

<sup>2</sup> *The Procedure of the House of Commons*, (London, 1908), i. 20.

1  
 2  
 3  
 4  
 5  
 6  
 7  
 8  
 9  
 10  
 11  
 12  
 13  
 14  
 15  
 16  
 17  
 18  
 19  
 20  
 21  
 22  
 23  
 24  
 25  
 26  
 27  
 28  
 29  
 30  
 31  
 32  
 33  
 34  
 35  
 36  
 37  
 38  
 39  
 40  
 41  
 42  
 43  
 44  
 45  
 46  
 47  
 48  
 49  
 50  
 51  
 52  
 53  
 54  
 55  
 56  
 57  
 58  
 59  
 60  
 61  
 62  
 63  
 64  
 65  
 66  
 67  
 68  
 69  
 70  
 71  
 72  
 73  
 74  
 75  
 76  
 77  
 78  
 79  
 80  
 81  
 82  
 83  
 84  
 85  
 86  
 87  
 88  
 89  
 90  
 91  
 92  
 93  
 94  
 95  
 96  
 97  
 98  
 99  
 100  
 101  
 102  
 103  
 104  
 105  
 106  
 107  
 108  
 109  
 110  
 111  
 112  
 113  
 114  
 115  
 116  
 117  
 118  
 119  
 120  
 121  
 122  
 123  
 124  
 125  
 126  
 127  
 128  
 129  
 130  
 131  
 132  
 133  
 134  
 135  
 136  
 137  
 138  
 139  
 140  
 141  
 142  
 143  
 144  
 145  
 146  
 147  
 148  
 149  
 150  
 151  
 152  
 153  
 154  
 155  
 156  
 157  
 158  
 159  
 160  
 161  
 162  
 163  
 164  
 165  
 166  
 167  
 168  
 169  
 170  
 171  
 172  
 173  
 174  
 175  
 176  
 177  
 178  
 179  
 180  
 181  
 182  
 183  
 184  
 185  
 186  
 187  
 188  
 189  
 190  
 191  
 192  
 193  
 194  
 195  
 196  
 197  
 198  
 199  
 200  
 201  
 202  
 203  
 204  
 205  
 206  
 207  
 208  
 209  
 210  
 211  
 212  
 213  
 214  
 215  
 216  
 217  
 218  
 219  
 220  
 221  
 222  
 223  
 224  
 225  
 226  
 227  
 228  
 229  
 230  
 231  
 232  
 233  
 234  
 235  
 236  
 237  
 238  
 239  
 240  
 241  
 242  
 243  
 244  
 245  
 246  
 247  
 248  
 249  
 250  
 251  
 252  
 253  
 254  
 255  
 256  
 257  
 258  
 259  
 260  
 261  
 262  
 263  
 264  
 265  
 266  
 267  
 268  
 269  
 270  
 271  
 272  
 273  
 274  
 275  
 276  
 277  
 278  
 279  
 280  
 281  
 282  
 283  
 284  
 285  
 286  
 287  
 288  
 289  
 290  
 291  
 292  
 293  
 294  
 295  
 296  
 297  
 298  
 299  
 300  
 301  
 302  
 303  
 304  
 305  
 306  
 307  
 308  
 309  
 310  
 311  
 312  
 313  
 314  
 315  
 316  
 317  
 318  
 319  
 320  
 321  
 322  
 323  
 324  
 325  
 326  
 327  
 328  
 329  
 330  
 331  
 332  
 333  
 334  
 335  
 336  
 337  
 338  
 339  
 340  
 341  
 342  
 343  
 344  
 345  
 346  
 347  
 348  
 349  
 350  
 351  
 352  
 353  
 354  
 355  
 356  
 357  
 358  
 359  
 360  
 361  
 362  
 363  
 364  
 365  
 366  
 367  
 368  
 369  
 370  
 371  
 372  
 373  
 374  
 375  
 376  
 377  
 378  
 379  
 380  
 381  
 382  
 383  
 384  
 385  
 386  
 387  
 388  
 389  
 390  
 391  
 392  
 393  
 394  
 395  
 396  
 397  
 398  
 399  
 400  
 401  
 402  
 403  
 404  
 405  
 406  
 407  
 408  
 409  
 410  
 411  
 412  
 413  
 414  
 415  
 416  
 417  
 418  
 419  
 420  
 421  
 422  
 423  
 424  
 425  
 426  
 427  
 428  
 429  
 430  
 431  
 432  
 433  
 434  
 435  
 436  
 437  
 438  
 439  
 440  
 441  
 442  
 443  
 444  
 445  
 446  
 447  
 448  
 449  
 450  
 451  
 452  
 453  
 454  
 455  
 456  
 457  
 458  
 459  
 460  
 461  
 462  
 463  
 464  
 465  
 466  
 467  
 468  
 469  
 470  
 471  
 472  
 473  
 474  
 475  
 476  
 477  
 478  
 479  
 480  
 481  
 482  
 483  
 484  
 485  
 486  
 487  
 488  
 489  
 490  
 491  
 492  
 493  
 494  
 495  
 496  
 497  
 498  
 499  
 500  
 501  
 502  
 503  
 504  
 505  
 506  
 507  
 508  
 509  
 510  
 511  
 512  
 513  
 514  
 515  
 516  
 517  
 518  
 519  
 520  
 521  
 522  
 523  
 524  
 525

[illegible]

1840. 1841. 1842. 1843. 1844. 1845. 1846. 1847. 1848. 1849. 1850. 1851. 1852. 1853. 1854. 1855. 1856. 1857. 1858. 1859. 1860. 1861. 1862. 1863. 1864. 1865. 1866. 1867. 1868. 1869. 1870. 1871. 1872. 1873. 1874. 1875. 1876. 1877. 1878. 1879. 1880. 1881. 1882. 1883. 1884. 1885. 1886. 1887. 1888. 1889. 1890. 1891. 1892. 1893. 1894. 1895. 1896. 1897. 1898. 1899. 1900. 1901. 1902. 1903. 1904. 1905. 1906. 1907. 1908. 1909. 1910. 1911. 1912. 1913. 1914. 1915. 1916. 1917. 1918. 1919. 1920. 1921. 1922. 1923. 1924. 1925. 1926. 1927. 1928. 1929. 1930. 1931. 1932. 1933. 1934. 1935. 1936. 1937. 1938. 1939. 1940. 1941. 1942. 1943. 1944. 1945. 1946. 1947. 1948. 1949. 1950. 1951. 1952. 1953. 1954. 1955. 1956. 1957. 1958. 1959. 1960. 1961. 1962. 1963. 1964. 1965. 1966. 1967. 1968. 1969. 1970. 1971. 1972. 1973. 1974. 1975. 1976. 1977. 1978. 1979. 1980. 1981. 1982. 1983. 1984. 1985. 1986. 1987. 1988. 1989. 1990. 1991. 1992. 1993. 1994. 1995. 1996. 1997. 1998. 1999. 2000. 2001. 2002. 2003. 2004. 2005. 2006. 2007. 2008. 2009. 2010. 2011. 2012. 2013. 2014. 2015. 2016. 2017. 2018. 2019. 2020. 2021. 2022. 2023. 2024. 2025. 2026. 2027. 2028. 2029. 2030. 2031. 2032. 2033. 2034. 2035. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2039. 2040. 2041. 2042. 2043. 2044. 2045. 2046. 2047. 2048. 2049. 2050. 2051. 2052. 2053. 2054. 2055. 2056. 2057. 2058. 2059. 2060. 2061. 2062. 2063. 2064. 2065. 2066. 2067. 2068. 2069. 2070. 2071. 2072. 2073. 2074. 2075. 2076. 2077. 2078. 2079. 2080. 2081. 2082. 2083. 2084. 2085. 2086. 2087. 2088. 2089. 2090. 2091. 2092. 2093. 2094. 2095. 2096. 2097. 2098. 2099. 2100. 2101. 2102. 2103. 2104. 2105. 2106. 2107. 2108. 2109. 2110. 2111. 2112. 2113. 2114. 2115. 2116. 2117. 2118. 2119. 2120. 2121. 2122. 2123. 2124. 2125. 2126. 2127. 2128. 2129. 2130. 2131. 2132. 2133. 2134. 2135. 2136. 2137. 2138. 2139. 2140. 2141. 2142. 2143. 2144. 2145. 2146. 2147. 2148. 2149. 2150. 2151. 2152. 2153. 2154. 2155. 2156. 2157. 2158. 2159. 2160. 2161. 2162. 2163. 2164. 2165. 2166. 2167. 2168. 2169. 2170. 2171. 2172. 2173. 2174. 2175. 2176. 2177. 2178. 2179. 2180. 2181. 2182. 2183. 2184. 2185. 2186. 2187. 2188. 2189. 2190. 2191. 2192. 2193. 2194. 2195. 2196. 2197. 2198. 2199. 2200. 2201. 2202. 2203. 2204. 2205. 2206. 2207. 2208. 2209. 2210. 2211. 2212. 2213. 2214. 2215. 2216. 2217. 2218. 2219. 2220. 2221. 2222. 2223. 2224. 2225. 2226. 2227. 2228. 2229. 2230. 2231. 2232. 2233. 2234. 2235. 2236. 2237. 2238. 2239. 2240. 2241. 2242. 2243. 2244. 2245. 2246. 2247. 2248. 2249. 2250. 2251. 2252. 2253. 2254. 2255. 2256. 2257. 2258. 2259. 2260. 2261. 2262. 2263. 2264. 2265. 2266. 2267. 2268. 2269. 2270. 2271. 2272. 2273. 2274. 2275. 2276. 2277. 2278. 2279. 2280. 2281. 2282. 2283. 2284. 2285. 2286. 2287. 2288. 2289. 2290. 2291. 2292. 2293. 2294. 2295. 2296. 2297. 2298. 2299. 2300. 2301. 2302. 2303. 2304. 2305. 2306. 2307. 2308. 2309. 2310. 2311. 2312. 2313. 2314. 2315. 2316. 2317. 2318. 2319. 2320. 2321. 2322. 2323. 2324. 2325. 2326. 2327. 2328. 2329. 2330. 2331. 2332. 2333. 2334. 2335. 2336. 2337. 2338. 2339. 2340. 2341. 2342. 2343. 2344. 2345. 2346. 2347. 2348. 2349. 2350. 2351. 2352. 2353. 2354. 2355. 2356. 2357. 2358. 2359. 2360. 2361. 2362. 2363. 2364. 2365. 2366. 2367. 2368. 2369. 2370. 2371. 2372. 2373. 2374. 2375. 2376. 2377. 2378. 2379. 2380. 2381. 2382. 2383. 2384. 2385. 2386. 2387. 2388. 2389. 2390. 2391. 2392. 2393. 2394. 2395. 2396. 2397. 2398. 2399. 2400. 2401. 2402. 2403. 2404. 2405. 2406. 2407. 2408. 2409. 2410. 2411. 2412. 2413. 2414. 2415. 2416. 2417. 2418. 2419. 2420. 2421. 2422. 2423. 2424. 2425. 2426. 2427. 2428. 2429. 2430. 2431. 2432. 2433. 2434. 2435. 2436. 2437. 2438. 2439. 2440. 2441. 2442. 2443. 2444. 2445. 2446. 2447. 2448. 2449. 2450. 2451. 2452. 2453. 2454. 2455. 2456. 2457. 2458. 2459. 2460. 2461. 2462. 2463. 2464. 2465. 2466. 2467. 2468. 2469. 2470. 2471. 2472. 2473. 2474. 2475. 2476. 2477. 2478. 2479. 2480. 2481. 2482. 2483. 2484. 2485. 2486. 2487. 2488. 2489. 2490. 2491. 2492. 2493. 2494. 2495. 2496. 2497. 2498. 2499. 2500. 2501. 2502. 2503. 2504. 2505. 2506. 2507. 2508. 2509. 2510. 2511. 2512. 2513. 2514. 2515. 2516. 2517. 2518. 2519. 2520. 2521.

*To L. Sully*      Thank you very much for your letter and a good night  
*To L. Sullivan*      I am sorry to hear that you are ill.

*[Faint handwritten notes at the bottom of the page]*

The 2nd of August 1860 was a day of great importance to the Rev. Mr. [unclear]  
The 2nd of August was a day of great importance to the Rev. Mr. [unclear]

في سنة ١٢٩٥ هـ

27. 29. 7. 9. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839.

1. The first part of the paper is devoted to a discussion of the general principles of the theory of the structure of the human brain. The author discusses the various theories of the structure of the brain, and the evidence in support of each. He then discusses the various functions of the brain, and the evidence in support of each.

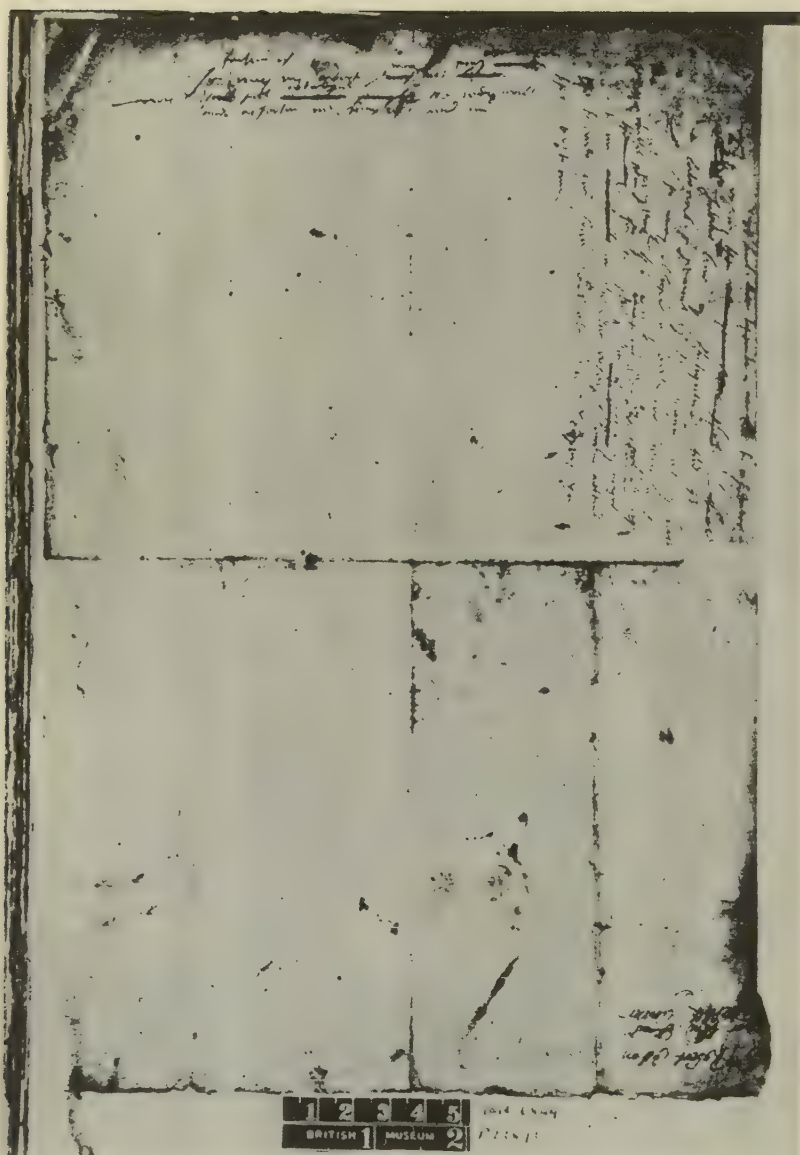
[illegible]

*[Faint handwritten notes at the bottom of the page]*

[illegible]

some of the vegetation in the upper part of the hill is not of the same kind as the vegetation in the lower part of the hill. The vegetation in the upper part of the hill is more of the same kind as the vegetation in the lower part of the hill.





HARLEIAN MS. 6849, f. 77b: Reduced Facsimile.  
 Dimensions of original MS.: 12 $\frac{1}{4}$ " long  $\times$  8 $\frac{1}{8}$ " wide.

whole document consists of only a single folio of paper (folio 77) in one of the volumes of the Harleian manuscripts (No. 6849) in the British Museum; but in view of the rarity of extant records of mediæval parliamentary debates, it possesses a scarcity value.

As will be seen from the facsimile, the document is written, partly in Latin, partly in English, in a secretary hand of the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century. This is in keeping with the statement, recorded on the verso, that it was sent by Sir William Dethick, Garter King-at-Arms (1543-1612), to his friend, the celebrated antiquary, Sir Robert Cotton (1571-1631), and the note on the recto 'Collected and noted per Garter.'<sup>1</sup> If Dethick was describing himself correctly when he wrote on the verso 'yor frend Sr W<sup>m</sup> Dethik Garter,' the document in its present form can be dated to within less than two years. Dethick was knighted on 13th May, 1603,<sup>2</sup> and deprived of his office by the court marshal held on 26th January, 1604-05.<sup>3</sup> It should, however, be added that Dethick seems to have been a man of overweening pride, and he may have continued on informal occasions, such

<sup>1</sup> It seems incredible that this should refer to John Smert (1449-1479), the second Garter King-at-Arms, and that Dethick should have copied out the document verbatim. The coincidence is too great to believe.

Presumably this document was actually sent to Cotton. In that case it is difficult to see how it got into the Harleian collection. Volume 6849 is described in the *Catalogue of the Harleian MSS in the British Museum*, iii. 435, as "A Folio, containing Papers relating to Parliamentary and other Affairs of State. Similarly bought." The previous volume, No. 6848, to which this refers, is described (*ibid.*) as "A Folio containing Papers chiefly relating to Ecclesiastical Affairs. A great part of them bought of Mr. Baker by Mr. H. Wanley." 'Mr Baker' is, presumably, Thomas Baker, the celebrated antiquary, (1656-1740), who was a friend of Humphrey Wanley, (1672-1726), librarian to the first and second Earls of Oxford. It has proved impossible to discover for certain how Thomas Baker might have acquired the document which is here printed. If it was not bought from him, (and not all, but only 'a great part' of Vols. 6848 and 6849 are said to have been), Robert Harley, first Earl of Oxford, may have acquired it in the collections, which he bought, of the antiquaries John Stow or Sir Simonds D'Ewes. Sir Robert Cotton may have lent or given the document to either Stow or D'Ewes, for both were friends of his. He is particularly likely to have passed on the document to D'Ewes, in view of the latter's interest in parliamentary history.

<sup>2</sup> W. A. Shaw, *The Knights of England*, (London, 1906), ii. 109.

<sup>3</sup> J. Anstis, *The Register of the Most Noble Order of the Garter*, (London, 1724), i. 390.

as this, to use the title of 'Garter,' even after that office had been taken away from him. If such was the case, the document, in its present form, may have been written at any time between 1603 and 1612.<sup>1</sup>

Whatever the exact date when Dethick wrote out the manuscript,<sup>2</sup> it is clear that in its present form it belongs to the early seventeenth century. Yet it claims to deal with a debate on the best way of obtaining supplies to enable armies to be dispatched to Normandy and Guienne, a discussion which took place, so the document states, 'in parlamento apud Wintoniam Henrici sexti.' Fortunately, there is no difficulty about dating this, for only one parliament ever met at Winchester during the reign of Henry VI. This was the parliament which was opened at Westminster on 12th February, 1448-49. On 30th May, 1449, it was prorogued for the Whitsuntide festival until 16th June, and was ordered to meet then at Winchester, since the king had been credibly informed 'de aeris corrupcione ac pestilencia, adtunc in diuersis locis infra Ciuitatem suam Londoniensis ac eciam in Villa Westmonasteriensis, Palacio suo adjacante, regnante, vbi presens parliamentum vsque tunc tentum fuit.' At Winchester the parliament continued to sit from 16th June until it was dissolved a month later, on 16th July.<sup>3</sup>

There may seem, therefore, too great an interval of time between the preparation of the document as we have it now, and the events which it purports to record. Nevertheless, there appears to be no adequate reason to doubt the trustworthiness of the manuscript. Dethick had many faults, but intellectual dishonesty, or a weakness for fabricating historical documents,

<sup>1</sup> There are on the dorse of the manuscript two sentences, written in a hand different from that of the rest of the document, which might perhaps throw some light on the date of its compilation and Dethick's connection with it, if they could be deciphered. They have, however, defied all attempts to make them yield their secret. The assistance of several skilled palæographers has been obtained, but with no success.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. A. R. Wagner, Portcullis Pursuivant, the authority on Dethick's handwriting, has very kindly examined photographs of the manuscript for me. He states that these photographs resemble very closely the examples of Dethick's hand with which he has compared them, and has very little doubt that these examples are his also.

<sup>3</sup> Public Record Office, C 65/99; *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, v. 143.



were not amongst them. Besides, no useful purpose could have been served by inventing a document such as this. Nothing in its contents can possibly have been of any material assistance to Dethick in his career ; while as a historical ' find ' it lacks the sensationalism for which a forger would have sought. Furthermore, if one is going to commit a forgery, why not produce a fair copy, free from redundancies, such as that in the first line of Lord Stourton's expression of opinion, and apparently careless mistakes, like the omission of the words ' names of ' before ' knights ' in the same speech, or the misspelling of ' amongst ' in the remarks of Lords Sudley and Cromwell ? Why not issue a coherent version without any difficult passages, such as " Ane is that all they that have lyvelodes bond them selfe for to geve that valew of that lyveled to defend that land," where it is hard to see to what the words ' that valew ' refer ? And it must be remembered that Dethick was an antiquary of some repute, the friend of men like Stow, Cotton, Doderidge, Carew, and Bowyer, and, like them, a member of the Society of Antiquaries, which sometimes met at his house.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, it may be that Dethick copied out this document for Cotton in connection with the Society's activities. The linguistic evidence of the English section of the manuscript also supports the view that it is directly or indirectly derived from a fifteenth-century original.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, there is already in print a very good instance of a fifteenth-century parliamentary document which is extant only in a late

<sup>1</sup> T. Hearne. *A Collection of Curious Discourses*, (Oxford, 1720), pp. xxxix-xli.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. C. T. Onions, who has very kindly examined a transcript of this document for me, states that " it may well be a copy of a fifteenth-century original. There have no doubt been alterations in spelling by the transcriber, but they do not disguise the general linguistic features of the original." Of individual words, ' good ' or ' goodes ', used to mean money, is, perhaps, the strongest evidence that the document is not a concoction of the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century, since the use of the word ' good ' in this sense was obsolete by the end of the sixteenth century. It is true that if the original dates from the mid-fifteenth century, the use of the word ' enpannell ' is earlier than any given in the *New English Dictionary* ; but since the Latin ' impanalare ' was being employed before 1449, there would, Dr. Onions thinks, be no difficulty in anglicizing it at any date after its appearance. (Ducange cites a use of the word ' impanalare ' in 1447 ; see *Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis*, tomus iv, p. 302.)

sixteenth or early seventeenth-century transcript; the Fane fragment of the 1461 Lords' Journal.<sup>1</sup>

It is evident that this account of a mid-fifteenth century debate is an authentic one; but that is not to say that the document was copied directly from a fifteenth-century original. It is not merely a question of Dethick's inclination or capacity to transcribe with accuracy, or whether the latter part of the document—the report of the debate—was in English or Latin in the original. It is a bigger problem than that, due to the puzzling nature of the phrase "Collected and noted per Garter," which is written immediately below the list of names. The question is whether the document in its present form is based, not on a single original, but on different sources, and, if so, what was the date at which the list of names was first written. Was it compiled at, or soon after, the time at which the debate took place, as the report of the debates must have been, or was it composed by Dethick?

There are one or two features of the list which at first sight seem to weigh heavily in favour of ascribing the authorship to Dethick. For one thing, to suppose that Dethick himself drew up the list of names provides the easiest way of explaining the statement "Collected and noted per Garter." Moreover, one item in the list does seem quite clearly to be later than the mid-sixteenth century in origin, and therefore to be attributed to Dethick. This is the gloss 'episcopus Chester,' squeezed into the list of names above 'episcopus Coventrensis.' In the fifteenth century it was very common to refer to the bishop of Coventry and Lichfield as the bishop of Chester,<sup>2</sup> and con-

<sup>1</sup> For facsimiles of the folios of this document, see W. H. Dunham, *The Fane Fragment of the 1461 Lords' Journal*, (New Haven, 1935). It is interesting to note that, just as in Harleian Ms. 6849, f. 77, the list of names is in Latin and the report of the debate is in English, so in the Fane document the names of the Lords are in Latin whereas the records of the proceedings each day are in English.

<sup>2</sup> One of the clearest instances of this is in 1420. There is an entry in the Patent Roll for 15 April in that year, the gist of which, according to the *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, was "Grant to the elect of Chester, late abbot of St. Albans, that he may have the temporalities of the bishopric of Chester . . ." (C.P.R., 1416-22, p. 276). For 23 October of the same year there is record of a "Mandate to the escheator in the county of Cambridge for the restitution of the temporalities of the abbey of St. Albans to John Whathamstede, doctor of theology, late prior

sequently there was no need for a writer at that period to provide the information that 'episcopus Coventrensis' was 'episcopus Chester.' After 1541, however, such an explanation would be of service to readers, who would now be familiar with a bishopric of Chester distinct from that of Coventry and Lichfield. The mention of the bishopric of Chester in the report of the debate, and the absence from it of any reference to the bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, may well have prompted Dethick to insert this gloss on 'episcopus Coventrensis.'

In reality, these arguments are not, however, by any means conclusive in favour of attributing the compilation of the list to Dethick. He may have intended the statement "Collected and noted per Garter" to refer to the whole document, and to indicate that it was he who had collected the list of names and the report of the debate together, and had noted or transcribed these interesting records which he had discovered. To the objection that the statement seems to refer to the list and not to the whole document, the reply could be given that, owing to the lay-out of the document on the particular sheet of paper which he had chosen, Dethick probably wrote this remark of his own immediately below the list of names simply because it was the most convenient and most prominent blank space left on the sheet. Nor is the reference to 'episcopus Chester' incontrovertible evidence that it was he who compiled the list of names. It is possible that he added the gloss to a list which he had compiled, by his own researches, of individual names found in fifteenth-century sources, but he may, alternatively, have inserted the gloss in a fifteenth-century record which he was merely transcribing.

The case against attributing the authorship of the list to Dethick does not, however, rest solely on these reasons, which, though forceful, lack conclusive factual evidence to support them; there is a stronger argument in favour of ascribing to the whole

of the monastery, elected abbot in the place of William Hayworth, consecrated bishop of Coventry and Lichfield . . ." (*ibid.*, p. 302). Other examples could be cited, but this one alone shows how, even in official documents, the bishop of Coventry and Lichfield was referred to with complete familiarity and lack of hesitation as the bishop of Chester.



document a fifteenth-century origin. This is based on the brevity of the reference to 'Cardinalis' in the list of names. It would be quite natural for a clerk writing in 1449, or thereabouts, to write 'Cardinalis' without any further particulars. There was only one English cardinal at that time, John Kemp, Archbishop of York, and so there was no possibility of confusion. If, however, Dethick had been compiling the list *ab initio*, he would surely have felt it necessary to give some indications, for the benefit of Sir Robert Cotton, or other readers, as to which cardinal he meant. There is a chance that Dethick found a terse reference to 'Cardinalis,' and, owing either to disinclination or inability to say which cardinal this was, decided to leave it as it stood in transcribing it; but this does not seem likely.

Although the evidence is not strong enough to warrant an emphatic assertion that the author of the list was not Dethick but someone writing in the mid-fifteenth century, there is, at any rate, a presumption in favour of this view. But even if this presumption were to be turned, by the discovery of further evidence, into a certainty, that would not solve all the difficulties presented by the list. What are we to make, for example, of the mention in it of the Prior of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem in England, and of 'Dominus Southwek'? There is no mention in the *Lords' Reports touching the Dignity of a Peer* of a writ of summons to the Prior.<sup>1</sup> As for 'Dominus Southwek,' the only peer to whom this can refer is Lord Stafford of Southwyk or Southwick. The sole person to bear that title, so far as is at present known, was Sir Humphrey Stafford (of Southwick), who was merely nine years old at this time, and was not summoned to parliament as Lord Stafford (of Southwick) until 26th July, 1461, by a writ directed 'Humfrido Stafford de Suthwyk militi.'<sup>2</sup> It may be that his father, William Stafford, who apparently held the manor of Southwick, in the parish of North Bradley,

<sup>1</sup> The list of persons who received a personal writ of summons to this parliament is given on pp. 918-19 of the *Lords' Reports touching the Dignity of a Peer*, App. I, Part II.

<sup>2</sup> *Lords' Reports touching the Dignity of a Peer*, App. I, Part II, p. 956; G. E. Cokayne, *The Complete Peerage*, (new edition, London, 1916), iv. 327. It was not until 24th April, 1464, that Humphrey Stafford was created Baron Stafford of Southwick (C.P.R., 1461-67, p. 325).

Wiltshire, at this time, was summoned to this spring parliament of 1449.<sup>1</sup> If so, the fact is not recorded in the usual sources. The omission of a name from an authority like the *Lords' Reports touching the Dignity of a Peer* is not always a safe test of whether a man did actually receive a summons to the parliament in question ;<sup>2</sup> but even if the Prior of St. John of Jerusalem in England and 'Dominus Southwek' were actually summoned to this parliament, other features of the list still remain to be explained. There is the fact that it does not comprise the names of all those who are recorded as speaking in the debate. The Bishops of Salisbury and Ely expressed an opinion during this discussion, but there is no mention of them in the list of names. Then, again, it refers to the Earls of Warwick, Wiltshire, and Worcester, although none of these three earls bore the title at the beginning of the parliament. Lord Tiptoft was made Earl of Worcester only on the last day, while Sir Richard Nevill was not confirmed as Earl of Warwick until a week after the parliament had been dissolved.<sup>3</sup>

The references to the Earls *eo nomine* suggest that the list was not compiled until after the parliament had been dissolved, whereas the report of the debate must have been written as the debate took place, or within two or three days afterwards. Otherwise, the man who recorded it would have forgotten what each speaker had said in the debate. Although, therefore, it is likely that the list of names was compiled by a fifteenth-century writer rather than by Dethick, it seems probable that it was drawn up, not at the same time as the report of the debate, but subsequently to it. It is reasonable to suppose that the list would be written down shortly after the parliament had ended, rather than years

<sup>1</sup> The manor of Southwick came into the Stafford family with William Stafford's grandmother. In 1449 most of the Stafford estates seem to have been held by another Humphrey Stafford, the son of William Stafford's elder brother John ; but the manor of Southwick had descended to William Stafford. (Cf. *Inquisitio post Mortem* on Katherine, William Stafford's widow, 19 Ed. IV, No. 47. Public Record Office, C 140/71/47.)

<sup>2</sup> See the case of the Earls of Huntingdon and Stafford in 1432, cited by the present writer in an article on 'Parliamentary Petitions in the Fifteenth Century,' in *E.H.R.*, lii. 396.

<sup>3</sup> G. E. C., *The Complete Peerage*, (old edition, 1887-98), vii. 402, viii. 60. Sir James Butler was created Earl of Wiltshire on 8th July, 1449 (*ibid.*, viii. 165).

later when men would have forgotten which lords had attended any particular debate. The clerk of the parliament may have been the person responsible for this list ; but of that one cannot be certain.

From the list of names it is time to turn to the report of the debate. One of the first impressions on reading through it is of its fullness, considering that it is a fifteenth-century record. This alone seems sufficient to dispel any possible notions that it is a fragment of an early form of Lords' Journal. The Lords' Journals developed, naturally enough, from a meagre record of what bills were introduced day by day before the Lords, and of what happened to them, to a detailed account of the debates which took place. It would be unnatural to find the detailed reports of a 1449 Lords' Journal followed by the brevity of that of 1461, the first Journal of which any portion is at present known to exist. It may, however, be the case that the clerk of the parliament had already begun to keep a Journal and to make notes of the debates in preparation for compiling it.<sup>1</sup> In Bowyer's day, in the early years of the seventeenth century, "The Clerke of the Parliament doth every day (sitting in the House or Court) write into his rough or scribled Booke, not onely the reading of Bills and other proceedings, of the House, But as farr forth, as he cann, whatsoever is spoken worthy observation ; Howbeit into the Journalle booke which is the Record, he doth in discretion forbear to enter many things spoken, though memorable, yet not necessarie nor fitt to be registered and left to Posterity of Record."<sup>2</sup>

It must, nevertheless, be recognised that there is no evidence

<sup>1</sup> The clerk of the parliament in 1449 was John Fawkes. He held the office from 1447 to 1471 (A. F. Pollard, 'Fifteenth Century Clerks of Parliament,' in *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, Feb. 1938, xv. 150-2), and was therefore the clerk who compiled the 1461 Lords' Journal. As Professor Pollard observes, "he was obviously keeping some sort of 'diurnal' of parliament" in 1455 and 1460 ; and this fact makes it appear the more likely that he was making notes of the debates in 1449.

<sup>2</sup> Petyt MS. 537, vol. 1, quoted by Miss E. Jeffries Davis in *E.H.R.*, xxviii. 533. Robert Bowyer was qualified to speak on the subject, as he was clerk of the parliament from 1610 until his death in 1622. For details of his life see pp. viii-xiii of D. H. Willson's *The Parliamentary Diary of Robert Bowyer*, (Minneapolis, 1931).



that this practice was in existence in 1449, and the report of the debate may have been drawn up for some other reason. The clerk of the parliament may have noted the opinions of the various speakers on the question of reinforcements for Normandy and Guienne in order to present a report to the king. Alternatively, he may have taken down this record of the debate to serve as an aide-mémoire, in case he should be required to insert a reference to it in the parliament roll. Yet another possible explanation is that the report may have been needed to let the Commons know what the Lords thought about the business; for it will be noted that in the debate the Lord Treasurer (Bishop Lumley of Carlisle) proposed that the views of the Lords on the best means of sending forth men and arms to France should be laid before the Commons. We cannot be dogmatic about the reason for the compilation of the report.

The discussion on the authorship and purpose of the document have not yielded any very definite conclusions; but a consideration of the debate itself produces more positive results. This discussion may have taken place for one of two reasons, or, more probably, because of both. One was the English reverses in Normandy during this session of parliament at Winchester, and of this more will be said presently. The other is the appeal for help made in this parliament "by the Kynges comaundement, bothe to the Lordes and the Commynes," by Reginald Bouchers, Abbot of St. Peter's Abbey, Gloucester (1437-1450), on behalf of the Duke of Somerset, Lieutenant of France.<sup>1</sup> This appeal directed attention to three pressing reasons why assistance must be given. The first was the menacing attitude and warlike preparations of the enemy. "The secunde parte ys, to shewe that if the werre shuld falle, as God defende, the Contrey of Normandie is in no wyse of hitself sufficeant to make resistance ayeinst the grete puyssance of the said Aduersaries. . . . The thrid part is, to remembre that the finalle terme of the last trewe approchith fast, for as youre wysdomes have well in mynde, hit shall laste nowe not XIIII monethes, and therfore it is thought right high tyme to bygynne your purveance for the

<sup>1</sup> P.R.O., C 65/99; *Rot. Parl.*, v. 147-8.

safeguard of that noble land. Wherefore my Lord of Somerset moost humblye besekith the Kynges Highnesse, tenderly prayeth all my Lordes his Conseilliers, and hertly willyth all youre wysdomes, to haue that noble land in youre good and speciall remembraunce, callyng to youre mynde the grete, inestimable, and well nygh infinite cost and effusion bothe of good and blood, that this land hath borne and suffered for that land sake, wherof the shamefull losse, the whiche God euer defende, shuld not only be to the irreparable hurt of the comyne profite, but also a everlasting spite and perpetuall denigration in the fame and renoune of this noble Reme." The truce was due to expire on 1st April, 1450,<sup>1</sup> so that, judging by the statement that the final term of the last truce would not last fourteen months, Somerset's appeal must have been made some time in February, 1448-49. Before parliament had met at Winchester, however, the war had begun again, owing to that rash and wanton act of aggression, the seizure and sacking by François de Surienne, "l'Arragonais," and his men, on 24th March, 1449, of the important town of Fougères in Brittany.<sup>2</sup> Already by 16th June, when the parliament was re-opened at Winchester, the French had retaliated by capturing Pont-de-l'Arche, Gerberoy, and Conches, and taking prisoner Lord Fauconberge. The outlook for the English position in Normandy was black indeed.

Even in this crisis there was, however, no unanimity amongst the Lords in this debate that troops should be sent out to France immediately. The first speaker, Lord Stourton, gave an opinion which seems to imply that he favoured the appointment of commissioners of oyer and terminer to establish better order in England before anything else were done. The evils with which such commissions were to deal were closely interconnected.

<sup>1</sup> T. Rymer, *Foedera*, (Original edition, 1710), xi. 199.

<sup>2</sup> J. Chartier, *Chronique de Charles VII*, ed. Vallet de Viriville, (Paris, 1868), ii. 60-61; R. Blondel, *De Reductione Normanniae*, in *Narratives of the Expulsion of the English from Normandy, 1449-50* (ed. J. Stevenson, Rolls Series), pp. 4-6; G. le Bouvier, *Chronique du roi Charles VII*, printed in D. Godefroy's, *Histoire de Charles VII*, (Paris, 1661), p. 432; T. Basin, *Histoire des règnes de Charles VII et de Louis XI*, (Paris, 1855-59), i. 194-7; G. Gruel, *Chronique d'Arthur de Richemont, Duc de Bretagne*, ed. A. le Vavas seur, (Paris, 1890), p. 195; *Chronique de Mathieu d'Escouchy*, ed. G. du Fresne de Beaucourt, (Paris, 1863-64), i. 154.

The giving of liveries to bands of retainers was an outward and provocative manifestation of that spirit of factious rivalry among the nobility which was almost certain to lead to "murders, and Ryottes agaynst the peace." To empanel knights, squires, and 'other men of might,' in the shire concerned, on such commissions was not, however, likely to aid in securing better order. In a great many cases such a proceeding was likely to 'set a thief to catch a thief' and to facilitate the maintenance of evil-doers, which was helping to drag the country ever nearer to the verge of civil war.

Lord Stourton was not alone in his opinions. Sudley and Cromwell held a similar view, and added that a general accord amongst the magnates was a necessary preliminary to raising troops for the French war. It is interesting to find the Yorkist Cromwell in agreement with the ardently Royalist Sudley. Probably the partisans on either side recognised that, in view of the increasing disorder in England, the issue of commissions of array might be dangerous. The musters so raised might be used for fighting in England instead of abroad, unless better justice and a greater degree of order could first of all be secured. Such a line of argument is interesting from many points of view, not least from that of the fortunes of the war in France. It may be one of the reasons why Somerset was so inadequately supported by the home government during these years when the power of the English in Normandy was fast ebbing away. Later on in the same debate William of Waynflete, Bishop of Winchester, Cardinal John Kemp, Archbishop of York, and William de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk, all expressed the same opinion, that a measure of justice must be obtained before it would be safe to consider raising levies of shire-archers. Appropriately enough, several of the bishops present—those of Norwich, Chester, Bath, and Worcester,<sup>1</sup>—took an optimistic view of the possibility of obtaining such justice by peaceful methods.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> At this time the bishops of Norwich, Chester (i.e. of Coventry and Lichfield), Bath, and Worcester were, respectively, Walter le Hart, William Booth, Thomas Becketon, and John Carpenter.

<sup>2</sup> The most rational way of interpreting the words 'without difference,' in the opinion expressed by the bishops of Norwich and Chester seems to be to take them as meaning 'without dispute or quarrel,' and hence 'peaceably.'



The Bishop of Chichester—Adam Moleyns, at this time Keeper of the Privy Seal—was, however, concerned with ways and means of sending out an army to France. This was only natural, for he was an influential member of the government, and therefore (as later events were to prove) one of those who would be made to pay dearly if the war should end in disaster. He proposed, in the first place, that all those persons who had an income<sup>1</sup> should promise to give up a certain proportion of it for the defence of the English possessions in France. Probably he hoped that the proportion would be a high one, to judge by his second proposal. This was a suggestion that all those who received grants and annuities from the king should forego a whole year's grant, so that the money thus freed could be used to send out armies to France. Considering the liberality, not to say prodigality, with which the Council of Regency, and, later, King Henry himself, had poured out grants of one kind or another, such a method, if it had been applied, would have yielded a very considerable sum. Criticism against the unduly large number and value of Crown grants was becoming common; less than a year later an Act of Resumption was passed.<sup>2</sup> But the policy proposed by Bishop Moleyns was too bold for the other lords who took part in this debate. The Bishops of Salisbury and Ely<sup>3</sup> held that the precedents which had previously been established in such matters should be consulted, presumably with a view to following them.

These bishops were followed in the debate by the Lord Treasurer, Bishop Lumley of Carlisle, who was naturally anxious to turn to account the discussions of the Lords on this question. He suggested that their proposals as to the best ways of procuring arms and men for the relief of Normandy and Guienne should be

<sup>1</sup> In the fifteenth century, 'livelihood' or 'livelihoods' could, amongst other things, mean (a) income, revenue, stipend, emoluments, and also (b) property yielding an income, landed or inherited property, estate, inheritance, patrimony (*N.E.D.*, Article on 'livelihood'). It is hardly likely that Moleyns wished to propose anything so drastic as the sale of part of a man's estates in order to provide money for relief to be sent to Normandy and Guienne.

<sup>2</sup> *Rot. Parl.*, v. 183-199. The king had consented to the Act by 6th May, 1450 (*The Paston Letters*, ed. J. Gairdner, (Edinburgh, 1910), i. 127).

<sup>3</sup> William Aiscough and Thomas Bourchier, respectively.

laid before the Commons, who should be urged to contribute as generously as possible towards the expense. He must have felt disappointed by the size of the grant which was actually made. "The Conclusion of this Communication is to take the Ussuall of graunt of Good for the deffence of the Land";<sup>1</sup> and by 'the usual grant' was meant a half-subsidy, to judge from the fact that the Commons did actually make such a grant during this session, to add to the half-subsidy which they had already granted before Easter.<sup>2</sup>

The discussion on ways and means of sending out relief to France was not the only business of the day. A letter from the famous François de Surienne, 'the Aragonese,' to the Duke of Suffolk was read out before the Lords, who strongly approved of it. It seems possible that this letter was the one which de Surienne is known to have sent to Suffolk shortly after the capture of Fougères.<sup>3</sup> It informed the Duke how the town had been captured, and how de Surienne had refused to give back the place to the Duke of Brittany without the consent of King Henry or Suffolk, whose commands he professed to be willing to obey precisely.<sup>4</sup> The Lords would be likely to approve of such a jingoistic letter, for even now most Englishmen did not realise how desperate the English position in Normandy had become, and were ready to applaud rash acts such as that of de Surienne without stopping to reflect on their consequences. If that triumphant letter is not the one which was read out in parliament on the occasion recorded in this manuscript, then the reference to the latter epistle is one more piece of evidence to add to the mass already known, that Suffolk and the English government were deeply implicated in the attack on Fougères.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It is unfortunate that we are not told how this conclusion was reached,—whether by acclamation, the taking of a vote, or a summing-up of the general feeling of the assembly by the person presiding, whether the Chancellor or some other person.

<sup>2</sup> *Rot. Parl.*, v. 144, 142.

<sup>3</sup> J. Stevenson, *Letters and Papers illustrative of the Wars of the English in France during the reign of Henry VI*, (Rolls Series, 1861), i. 289-90.

<sup>4</sup> According to de Surienne's account, both Henry and Suffolk replied, ordering him to keep Fougères diligently, and telling him to see that his troops were in good order for the safety and defence of the place (*ibid.*, i. 290).

<sup>5</sup> E.g. Stevenson, *op. cit.*, i. 278-98; Basin, *op. cit.*, iv. 290-347.

The seizure of that town was a blundering act of provocation ; but it must be recognised that if it had had fortunate results, Suffolk would have enjoyed great popularity. He had to deal with a very difficult situation, and on his shoulders rests only part of the responsibility for the loss of the English dominions in northern France ; but when disaster came, popular fury looked for a scapegoat on whom could be laid the whole of the blame. There is no mention of any disapproval of de Surienne's letter from those who were present at this debate, and no suggestion, on grounds of either morality or expediency, that the attack on Fougères had been wrong. On the contrary, the letter "was thought right notably wrytten." As M. Bossuat points out, a breach of the truce was nothing fresh ; both sides had been responsible for various incidents, and "les hommes d'armes, de quelque parti qu'ils fussent, avaient tendance à considérer ces attaques comme des peccadilles. La prise de Fougères était pour eux un exploit qu'ils étaient bien près d'admirer."<sup>1</sup> That was probably how the Lords present in parliament on this occasion regarded the matter. They, in common with the English government overlooked two features of the capture of Fougères which, to the French, made the seizure of that town a far more serious matter than any previous infraction of the truce. One was the complicity of the English government in the affair ; the other, its attempt to make use of the capture of Fougères to further a scheme for subjugating Brittany to the English Crown.

Transcript of HARLEIAN MS. 6849, f. 77a.

| Cardinalis.    |                    | Dux Suffolciae.                |                |                          |
|----------------|--------------------|--------------------------------|----------------|--------------------------|
| Archiepiscopus | Cantuariensis      |                                |                | Prior Sancti Johannis de |
| Episcopus      | Wyntoniensis       | Comes Warwici                  |                | Jerusalem in Anglia      |
| Episcopus      | Caerlyle           | Comes Devoniae                 | In parlamento  | Dominus Roos             |
| Episcopus      | Landevensis        | Comes Wiltesiae                | apud Wintoniam | Dominus Grey de Ruthin   |
| Episcopus      | Bathoniensis       | Comes Wigorniae                | Henrici sexti  |                          |
| Episcopus      | Wygorniensis       |                                |                |                          |
| Episcopus      | Cicestriensis      | Viccomes Beaumont              |                | Dominus Groby            |
| Episcopus      | Norwicensis        | Viccomes Burcher               |                | Dominus Mollyns          |
| Episcopus      | Chester [sic]      |                                |                | Dominus Dudley           |
| Episcopus      | Coventrensis       |                                |                | Dominus Lysle            |
| Episcopus      | Bangorensis        |                                |                | Dominus Cromwell         |
| Abbas          | Westmonasteriensis |                                |                | Dominus Sudley           |
| Abbas          | Glocestrensis      |                                |                | Dominus Sturton          |
|                |                    | Collected and noted per Garter |                | Dominus Southwek         |

<sup>1</sup> *Perrinet Gressart et François de Surienne*, (Paris, 1936), p. 325.



Question is how good might be had for the setting forth / of the Armyes into Normandie and Guyon. /

The Lord Sturton thincketh there there [sic] would be certeyne Comissioners of Oyer and Terminer / to enquire of murders and Ryottes agaynst the peace. Also of lyveries / and that every Sheriff should certefie to the Comissioners all the ~~Knights~~ [sic] / names of Knightes Esqui[r]les and all other men of might within his shiere / that they maye knowe whom they maye enpannell suche as be / sufficient. /

The Lord Sudley } Thincke that dew Justice might be had and a good accord /  
The Lord Cromwell } ~~agoo~~ [sic] amongst the Lordes first. /

The Bishop of Chichester Thincketh ij wayes to have goodes. Ane is that all they that have lyvelodes / bond them selfe for to geve that valew of that lyveled to defend that land. / Also that they that have grauntes and Annuytes of the kinges grant geve / a yers valew of the grant and annuyte before hand to helpe forthe the / Armyes for the deffence of that Contreye. /

The Bishop of Norwich } houlden that without difference Justice maye be had.  
The Bishop of Chester } And that halfe / the shere archers should be sent forthe with the grauntes that ben / graunted for the deffence of those partes. /

The Bishop of Bathe }  
The Bishop of Worcester } houlden after the same. /

The Bishop of Sarum } houlden that the presedentes that hathe ben in suche  
The Bishop of Ely } matters / should be seen. /

The Lord Treasurer thincketh that this dillegence that the Lordes don for this matter bothe / for Ordinans and for men to be sett forth and for to se the ways how good / might be had for them to be sent forth whiche should be layed before the / Commons. And they to be entreated to consider the great dillegence / would put theyr handes to theyr goode benevolence to see how good might / be had to performe the purpose of sending forth the sayd Armyes. /

The Lord of Wynchester houldeth that dewe Justice maye be had and then to ordeyne of other / of the shere Archers. /

The Lord Cardinell }  
The Lord of Suffolk } houldeth to the same opinion. /

The Conclusion of this Communication is to take  
the / Ussuall of graunt of Good for the deffence of /  
the Land. /

Item this day was the Letter that Sir Francis  
Le Arragonois / sent to the Duk of Suffolk red before  
the Lordes in the / parliament the whiche was thought  
right notably / wrytten. /

f. 77b.

*On the dorse of the folio  
is the address:—*

To S<sup>r</sup>. Robert Cotton  
[fro]m yor frend S<sup>r</sup>. W<sup>m</sup>.  
Dethik Garter.

## THE DEVELOPMENT OF COBDEN'S ECONOMIC DOCTRINES AND HIS METHODS OF PROPAGANDA : SOME UNPUBLISHED CORRESPONDENCE.

By EDWARD HUGHES, M.A.

LECTURER IN MODERN HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER.

### I.

“WHEN I was twenty years younger I thought nothing in the way of public agitation impossible, and I took in hand the toughest of all political problems which then awaited solution.” So wrote Cobden in 1857. We should be wrong in assuming that this statement has reference only to the Anti-Corn Law agitation, or that in 1837 the question of taxes on food already engaged his attention to the exclusion of others. True in his earliest tract, *England, Ireland and America*, published in 1835, he insisted that the repeal of the corn laws was “absolutely necessary”, and in his *Russia*, published in the following year, he spoke of “our iniquitous corn laws which have often starved our artisans in the midst of idle looms”. But in both of these he was primarily concerned “to prove the erroneous foreign policy of the government of this country” and to counteract the attempts to incite the nation into war against Russia. “One active mind has during the last two years materially influenced the tone of several of the newspapers and incessantly roused public opinion, through every accessible channel of the periodical press against Russia.” Accordingly, Cobden set out “to answer the popular objections to the aggrandisement of Russia” at the expense of Turkey and to challenge “the predominant influence which an aristocracy, essentially warlike, exercises at this moment in the Ministry.” “The battlefield is the harvest field of the aristocracy watered



with the blood of the people " (*England, Ireland and America*, p. 42). He wanted to see England "directing her undivided energies to the purifying of her own internal institutions, to the emancipation of her commerce and, above all, to the unfettering of her press from its excise bonds " (p. 44).

The "active mind", whose influence he so much deprecated, was David Urquhart who, in September, 1835, had been appointed secretary to the embassy at Constantinople. But he was not alone; Attwood of Birmingham was also advocating war and paper money which Cobden denounced as "the curse and scourge of the working class". The principal medium of the jingoists was the *United Services Magazine*, but in May, 1838, Cobden heard that Urquhart, "the great advocate of Turkish interests was preparing to agitate the country against Russia, like a modern Peter the Hermit, by giving lectures". "Nothing can be more mischievous or better calculated for upholding the aristocratic army and navy and otherwise obstructing the growth of democratic government" wrote Cobden to Francis Place, "than this insane advocacy of national interference. After all, there is, I fear, no cure for our insular insolence and egotism but in the exhaustion of the Exchequer".<sup>1</sup>

He suggested that the word "wastrel", the meaning of which was well known in Lancashire, "may be useful in London". "Commerce in the present day cannot turn Hermit" he had written in his tract on Russia, nor for that matter could the still small voice of sanity and remonstrance. Cobden must emulate his opponents; the platform must reinforce the press; above all, the education of the working classes was a necessary prerequisite of success.

It was partly with the last in mind that Cobden in 1838 took up so vigorously the scheme of a national penny postage. It was in this connexion (as I have shown in recent articles)<sup>2</sup> that he first developed his technique of agitation. On 11th May, 1838, immediately on his return to Manchester after giving evidence before the Committee on Postage, he wrote to Francis Place urging on him the importance of getting an artisan or a day labourer to give evidence before the committee as to the

<sup>1</sup> *Add. MSS.* 37949. 386.

<sup>2</sup> *Manchester Guardian*, July 29 and 30, 1938.

oppressive character of the existing postal charges on the working classes, and of finding and properly priming such a person. Here we have an anticipation of the starving agricultural labourer who later appeared on the platforms of the Anti-Corn Law League. In two letters to Rowland Hill, written at the same time, Cobden urged him to bring out a cheap edition of his pamphlet *Post Office Reform*, "a sixpenny copy . . . is, in my opinion, absolutely requisite". Cobden explained that ten thousand copies of his own first pamphlet, *England, Ireland and America*, had sold in a sixpenny edition, whereas only two hundred and fifty had sold when the price was 3s. 6d.<sup>1</sup> (A year later you could buy a thousand copies of a *Uniform Penny Post* for 7s.) Cobden failed to persuade Hill to come down to Manchester and "lecture" to the Chamber of Commerce, "or other public meeting on your penny postage scheme", but he insisted that "the country must be appealed to during the recess (the season of agitation)". "Nothing can be done without agitation in all its varieties of form whether by newspapers, pamphlets or public meetings" and since "you cannot carry on the war of agitation without the sinews of war" a subscription to a general fund should be invited. Cobden himself led off with an unsolicited subscription of £10. The need for widely disseminating cheap pamphlet literature was all the greater in this case because "the newspaper press does not generally take up the subject with anything like ardour probably from the fear of some interference from the penny postage as a cheap means of advertising". Later on he mentioned another difficulty to Place (this time in connexion with the anti-corn law agitation itself). "We in Manchester are looked upon with some jealousy by the agriculturists (I mean the population of rural towns as well as farmers and labourers), but they will follow the metropolis as their natural leader." He was urging the need of getting the proceedings of the Metropolitan Anti-Corn Law Association reported in the London press in order to give a cue to the country. For this reason, he believed, as late as 1840, that London should remain the centre of propagandist operations, not so much with a view to converting the metropolis itself as because the country

was most likely to respond to a lead from London. It was Place who disillusioned him :<sup>1</sup>

“ The people here differ widely from you at Manchester. You, some of you, at Manchester resolve that something shall be done and then you, some of you, set to work and see it done, give your money and your time and need none but mere servants to carry out the details. Our men of prospect and influence never act in this way. They must be operated on with care and circumspection to induce them to give us their mites and the use of their names in the general Committee.”

For example, of the eleven appointed to the London Committee, only three or four attended while “ the subscription list does not amount to quite £100 ”.

## II.

When Cobden wrote his pamphlet on *Russia*, he had not visited that country. He did so in 1847 and the following letter, written two years later, gives his first hand impressions and supplements the account given in *Morley*, pp. 450-62.<sup>1</sup>

“ I wish the alarmists about the vast resources of the Czar could all take a trip, as I have done, into the interior of that country. Russia is a succession of villages, composed of log huts widely scattered over an interminable pine forest.” With no coal and where the winter lasts half the year, “ the population must always be thin and capital can never accumulate as it does in more genial climes. People confound in their minds the defensive and the aggressive power of Russia. She is invulnerable against foreign attack by land because no large army can be concentrated within her borders (unless at Moscow or St. Petersburg) for want of accumulated stores of food. . . . But no large empire is so much at the mercy of a maritime power like England or the United States of America, for she has but three or four commercial ports and those are shut up with ice for half the year. She has a large fleet manned by serfs . . . who are undeserving the name of sailors and it is pretty certain she would

<sup>1</sup> *Add. MSS.* 35151. 230-1.

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 37053. 41.



never venture into an engagement with England." The opinion that the Russian government had large financial resources Cobden dismissed as "a gigantic imposture".

## III.

The next letter, written from Germany, shows that he realised how drastically recent improvements in communication, especially the railway, would affect trade relations and that German competition in textiles would compel a revision of the Corn Laws.

[TO WILLIAM NEILD, ESQ., MESSRS. T. HOYLE AND SONS,  
MANCHESTER.<sup>1</sup>]

SALTZBURGH,  
30th September, 1838.

MY DEAR SIR,

Having turned my face homewards at Vienna (which place I reached after a rapid journey by way of Berlin, Dresden, Leipsic, etc.) I take advantage of the first delay of a few hours here on my way to the Rhine to redeem the promise I made by sending you a letter. So exceedingly limited has been my time that I have scarcely seen more than the capitals of Prussia, Austria and Saxony and these superficially only. But I do not regret the labor of the journey since it has enabled me to form a more correct opinion of the present state and prospects of Central Europe than I could possibly have gained from books. There are two different plans of travelling to advantage. The first and best is to take time enough in each country to ascertain thoroughly its condition from personal observation: the other is to ascertain from actual inspection just so much as will enable one to read with advantage the more detailed accounts of others. I am obliged to content myself with the second mode for want of time to pursue the first. My plan is to get the outlines of the principal features, and like the painters, leave other hands to fill up the details for me.

One of the most striking points in the policy of the continental states—because one that affects most agreeably the stranger—

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Redford tells me that Neild was a prominent Manchester citizen who played a leading part in securing the charter of incorporation in 1838.

is the great attention everywhere bestowed upon the roads. In Prussia, they are scarcely inferior to our own turnpikes. Saxony is not behind Prussia. And Austria, although inferior to her neighbors in the north is making great efforts in the same way. In fact, since I landed on the continent I have not travelled on an unmacadamised road. Heaps of small stones, cut to a prescribed form and size ; men busily engaged in scraping the roads, organised bodies of workmen employed in digging and levelling meet the eye in every direction throughout Germany. Nor are they altogether idle in the formation of railroads. There are three lines begun at Vienna, one of which is in partial operation and I saw the trains arrive and depart filled with passengers. A very important line is nearly finished from Dresden to Leipsic and another from the latter place to Magdeburg, the head of the Elbe navigation, is in equal forwardness : when these roads are opened next year there will be a steam communication from the centre of Europe to the sea. Another line from Berlin to Dresden is also in progress. I envy the travellers of the next generation who will travel over Europe with as little expense of time and labour as it cost our fathers to make the tour of England !! It is impossible to foresee all the effects of this revolution in the communication between nations, but we in England ought to be prepared for meeting the great stimulus which it will afford to the people of the continent in manufactures and commerce. Railroads will, in fact, put nations much more upon a level of equality than hitherto. Common roads may be of very different qualities although nominally the same ; thus the turnpike of England is vastly superior to the chaussée of France, but railroads when once constructed will carry equally fast the passengers and merchandise of all countries.

But the most important feature in the institutions of Germany is the great attention bestowed upon the education of the people. Prussia is very much in advance of all European nations in this respect. There is scarcely a young man or woman in the country from 20 to 30 who cannot read or write and understand accounts. Even the militia service, which every young man must enter for a time, is made subservient to mental culture. If a young peasant cannot read and write on entering the army the is up

to school ; and it is the remark of the villages of that country that a young fellow entering the militia an uncultivated boor returns to his farm an educated man. We are apt in England to suspect that this education is made subservient to despotic views on the part of the government. Nothing can be more irrational and unphilosophic on our parts than such a supposition. Enlightenment and despotism are never found long in one community. Prussia is in fact no longer under an absolute monarch. The King, who is one of the best of men, has voluntarily broken the sceptre of absolutism in his own by raising up an enlightened public opinion to control the policy of his government. The public concerns of Prussia are managed with economy, wisdom and justice. Simplicity and frugality are the fashion at Berlin. The Court dines at 2. The King rides out in a plain carriage and pair, dressed in a foraging cap and unattended by military. The theatres commence at 6 and close at 9 or 9.30, and Berlin is as quiet as an English village at 11. The same moderate habits prevail in Vienna and Dresden, as well as other parts of Germany. The system of education in Saxony is equal to that of Prussia. By the Austrian government considerable efforts are making in the same way. In fact, the very best infant school I ever saw is in Prague, the capital of Bohemia. When I relate to you from the notes I took the particulars of this establishment you will agree with me that it is the model of such schools. That there must be a great simplicity and moderation in the mind of the people of Germany will be self-evident from the character of their governments, for nations and their rulers are ever similar in their characteristics. The Germans appear to me to answer to the quality described by English farmers when they speak of a 'kindly' breed of stock. They are innately and naturally good natured. I should think an act of rudeness never takes place in the whole of Germany. A churlish, uncivil and splenetic German would be a curiosity. In going into their schools the children all rise and in one chorus give me 'welcome' and as I leave they all join in a hearty 'adieu'. The workmen in the factories salute their employers by raising their caps on his first appearance amongst them in the morning and even the bed-ridden invalids



in the hospitals make an effort to raise their night caps to me in walking through their establishments. All this is only the outward and visible sign of an inward feeling of kindness and civility. Whether they would do well to dispense with these externals may be a matter of doubt. The Vicar of Wakefield used to make his children kiss and shake hands every morning at the breakfast table because he said he was afraid if the forms of affection were omitted the feeling itself might be forgotten and the Germans seem to be of the same old fashioned sentiment.

Saxony, to a commercial man, is the most interesting portion of Germany. The people are perhaps the most industrious and frugal in the world. It is a little beehive. What Scotland is to England and New England to North America, Saxony is to Germany. The salt of the land is in Saxony. They are rivalling and indeed superseding us in many articles of manufacture and if our present system of legislation upon the trade in provisions be persevered in they will still further interfere with the labor of our artisans. To give you an idea of the extent of their manufactures I need only mention that besides extensive productions in broad cloths, merinoes, lace, silks and ginghams, they make annually two millions and a half of dozen pairs of stockings. I shall have some facts of this kind which I must bring before the attention of the Manchester community on my return, shewing the operation of our corn laws.

A great treat awaits you and Mrs. Neild when you put yourselves and your children into a strong travelling carriage and pay a visit to Germany. Be assured it may be done with as much comfort and far less expense than a trip of the same kind to the hills of Derbyshire. But before you set off your sons must have mastered as much of the German language as to be able to be your interpreters. It is a language that is destined to become infinitely more important in their after life than even now, though at present it is spoken at the courts of five kingdoms and an empire—to say nothing of a score of minor potentates—altogether controlling upwards of sixty millions of people! The education and habits of the German family are now producing seeds which only require time to yield still richer fruits of literature and learning. Every year six or seven thousand new

publications issue from the presses of Germany ; hundreds of thousands of volumes are printed annually at Leipsic alone. The universities are filled with students and directed by the most eminent men [MSS. torn] in Europe. Everything in fact is tending to give to the literature of Germany a great influence over the future mind of Europe. Your boys must therefore learn German.

I must not omit to notice one very gratifying fact which is not generally known I think in England. A great many of the large towns through which I passed have thrown down their fortifications and turned them into peaceful promenades. This is the case with Hamburgh, Leipsic, etc. In the public garden at the latter place is a monument to the Burgomaster who first proposed this change. During the last continental war it was found that those towns which were fortified suffered the most severely as they invited the enemy and what proved often quite as disastrous as in the case of the Hanse Towns they afforded asylums for their friends. This led at the peace to the destruction of the fortifications and the largest and richest cities on the continent are now entirely unprotected against the attacks of an army. There is a practical illustration on a grand scale of the truth of the great Christian principle which distinguishes your religious body in thus *throwing aside the weapons of defense as a means of security*.<sup>1</sup> There is another aspect in which it may be viewed with satisfaction by the friend of humanity. These rich towns containing the wealth and influence of the several communities will be pledged by their interests against a war. However, we have a guarantee for peace in the financial embarrassments of every government of Europe. There is not one of the northern powers that could raise a million sterling to put an army in motion. England and France are not in a better position, for this I thank Heaven, believing as I do, that if the treasuries were filled the governments would be at war again to empty them. I have not left myself room to say a word about your local politics. It is a month since I saw an English paper and I know not what is doing at home. I have no doubt that during your absence friend Wilson

<sup>1</sup> Cobden's italics.

(to whom I beg to be remembered) has done what is right in the way of organisation for the election. I hope the town is interested in the matter. Anything like apathy would now be fatal to the prosperity of the good cause. I hope to be in Manchester to take upon me a share of the labors in about three weeks. In the meantime requesting you to give my regards to Mrs. Neild and your family and to your partners.

I beg to subscribe myself,  
Yours very faithfully,  
RICHARD COBDEN.

P.S.—When at Prague a Mr. Meisner who once spent a day with you (introduced by Mr. Pattison or Mr. Shillingford) spoke in strong terms of the kindness you and yours shewed him and begged me to remember him to you.<sup>1</sup>

#### IV.

The following letter to J. D. FIRNLY suggests that the success of the Free Trade agitation was assured many months before the Irish potato crop failed :

LONDON,  
10th April, 1845.

MY DEAR SIR,

I have this evening presented your petition against the Maynooth grant. It is painful to me to find myself opposed in judgement, as I am on this occasion, to many of my constituents whose good opinion I should wish to retain. It is, however, difficult to deal with *Irish* questions on *English grounds*. The state of the country is such that I should be willing to do anything short of a violation of a great principle to conciliate its unhappy people. The question now before us is not one of principles. Everybody concurs in voting the smaller sum. I vote for the larger in order to please the Irish nation. I can't say I like the business in any shape but I do the best I can in the circumstances of the case. Our good cause is making great

<sup>1</sup> This and the following letter are in the John Rylands Library.



strides. There is a general belief now that we are approaching the end. Free-trade is looked upon as an inevitable necessity even by the landlords and farmers. There is a very strong case in the proceedings of the Covent Garden meeting yesterday. Mr. Houghton, the land agent, is an old opponent of mine. He met me at a public meeting at Uxbridge two years ago and spoke in favour of protection. His conversion is a very important incident. He is very extensively connected with landowners as a land agent—I understated the extent of his business. He has 200,000 acres in his charge, amongst others he is agent for the Clare Hall (Cambridge University) estates. These are signs which are not lost upon Lord John and Sir Robert.

Believe me,

Yours truly,

RICHD. COBDEN.

J. D. Firnly, Esq.

## V.

The next three letters reveal hitherto unknown contacts which Coden had with reformers in France. The statement in the letter to T. N. Bonard that "I am not favorable to treaties of reciprocity but *prefer that each country should regulate its trade with a view to its own interest*" needs to be underlined in these days.

[TO ARTHUR MACNAMARA, 24 RUE D'ANGOULÈME, PARIS.<sup>1</sup>]

LONDON,  
15th March, 1848.

You are quite right in your opinion that England must adopt a less extravagant scale of government expenditure to escape a financial crisis and it is the duty (to say nothing of the interest) of every man having a stake in this country to promote a strict economy at headquarters. Unfortunately our public offices are all modelled upon an aristocratic scale; too

<sup>1</sup> *Add. MSS.* 39263. 145. MacNamara was the author of a tract on Army Reform published in 1833.

much pay and too little work being the rule everywhere. The electors are not without blame for they have hitherto taken but little [interest] in the amount of taxes or their expenditure. The present financial pinch and the necessity of bringing the tax gatherers into direct communication with the pockets of the middle class by means of the income tax are bringing the electoral body to their senses and this is peculiarly a good time for advocating retrenchment.

I shall be glad at any time to be favoured with a communication from you.

[To MONSIEUR T. N. BONARD.]

LONDON,  
13th September, 1848.<sup>1</sup>

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your favor of the 10th requesting to know whether in my opinion the British Government would be likely to agree to a more liberal treaty of reciprocity with France in respect to navigation. I beg to say that the bill introduced in the last session of parliament by our government and which was approved by an immense majority of the House of Commons proposed to throw open our ports in the most liberal spirit to all foreign vessels and gave them equal privileges with our own both with this country and our colonies and both for the direct and indirect trade. The bill did not pass into a law this session owing to the delay occasioned by other business but I have no doubt that it will become law next year. In the meantime the government of the East Indies has completely opened the trade to our vast dominions there to the vessels and commodities of all the world. French ships and cargoes enter Calcutta and Bombay on the same terms as those from England. I am not favorable to treaties of reciprocity but prefer that each country should regulate its trade with a view to its own interest. I need not tell you that I consider that the most perfect freedom from all interference or restriction is the true interest of all nations. If you are of the same opinion I would advise you to impress your views upon your countrymen

<sup>1</sup> *Add. MSS.* 33964. 30. Misdated 1838 in the B.M. Catalogue.

in order to induce them to enter upon a more liberal commercial career. You need not be alarmed about England meeting you in a reciprocal spirit. I will undertake a generous contest with you and will engage that this country shall always be in advance of yours in the career of Free Trade.

I remain, Monsieur

Your obedient servant

RICHD. COBDEN.

Monsieur Theodore N. Bonard.

[To P. M. FEENEY, EDITOR OF (                      )].

*22nd February, 1861.*

[*Re Feeney's visit to L'Orient.*]

My friend Monsieur Chevalier received a complaint from the Minister of Marine alleging that an improper advantage had been taken of the introduction which he had procured for you. (A mistake had been made.)

“ I may add (though not for publication on my authority) that I believe the time is at hand when the truth of your statements respecting the moderate naval preparations in France will be forced upon the attention of parliament and the country. Ever since I have been behind the scenes in France I have endeavoured to impress on members of the government at home the necessity of undeceiving the public mind respecting the exaggerated statements about French naval armaments. But it really seemed as if our Court, aristocracy and government were all in a conspiracy to keep up a delusion on the subject with a view to a large expenditure of the people's money on army, navy, volunteers and fortifications. It seemed as if every fact and figure I sent home fell powerless before a foregone conclusion. To-day I have a letter from my friend, Mr. W. S. Lindsay, M.P., who is in Paris assisting in arranging the details of a new Navigation Treaty between the two countries and he tells me that he has been convinced by the explanations and statements made to him by the Minister of Marine that we, the English public, are under a complete delusion as to the naval



armaments of France. He has written home to Lord C. Paget, our naval Secretary, advising him to come over to Paris for a couple of days to examine into the matter, authorising him to shew his letter to Lord Palmerston in which he declares that not another step ought to be taken in voting *our* naval estimates for the year until the question of the French force be cleared up. (Lindsay in his letter to Cobden stated that "if government [do not] make a fair statement of the naval armaments of France, he will do so in his place in Parliament".) I hope, therefore, we are in the way for getting at the truth and then I expect a great reaction upon the invasion folly."





THE "SATOR" FORMULA INSCRIBED ON ROMAN WALL-PLASTER FROM CIRENCESTER.



## THE SATOR-FORMULA AND THE BEGINNINGS OF CHRISTIANITY.

By DONALD ATKINSON, M.A.

PROFESSOR OF ANCIENT HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER.

IN the mysterious region where religion, superstition, and magic meet, where words, numbers, and letters are believed, if properly combined, to exert power over the processes of nature, the so-called Sator-formula has long occupied a distinguished place. It is not the purpose of this paper to trace its history through the later centuries of antiquity, the Middle Ages, or the modern world, nor to explain how the five words which it contains became the names of the five nails of the Crucifixion, of the four (or three) Shepherds who worshipped the new-born Christ, or of the three Magi, still less to enquire into the reasons for its efficacy in modern times against the bites of dogs or snakes, or in promoting easy child-birth.<sup>1</sup>

But in a time when the increasing specialisation of learned research renders it difficult for discoveries in one field to become known to those best able to profit by them, it seems permissible to draw attention, in a journal circulating widely among those

<sup>1</sup> The Bibliography of the Sator-formula is immense. It will suffice here to refer to some recent treatments, the knowledge of which I owe to the brief discussion contained in *The Excavations at Dura-Europos, conducted by Yale University and the French Academy of Inscriptions and Letters. Preliminary Report of Fifth Season of Work 1931-32*, p. 159 f, and *ibid.*, *Sixth Season 1932-33*, p. 486. (1) Cabrol-Le Clerq. "Dict. Arch. Chrétienne" I. 2. (1907), p. 1809 f. (2) Dornseiff "Das Alphabet in Mystik und Magie," 2nd edition (1925), p. 79 and 179. (3) *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* XXIV (1926), p. 165 f. (Grosser, *Ein neuer Vorschlag zur Deutung der Sator-Formel*). (4) *Gnomon*, vol. VI (1930), p. 365 (review by O. Weinreich of Dornseiff with discussion of Grosser). (5) Dölger *IXΘΥΣ*, vol. V (1932), p. 57 f. (6) *Recherches de Science religieuse*, vol. XXV (1935), p. 188 f. (Jerphanion; *La Formule magique Sator Arepo ou Rotas Opera*).

interested in the early history of Christianity, to two recent accessions to our knowledge of this formula, and to suggest some of the directions in which further advances may be made as a result of them.

The formula itself appears in two forms, as Jerphanion seems to have been the first to point out, an earlier and a later. Both consist of a square formed of five words each of five letters, which are such that they form the same sentence whichever way they are read. Thus :—

|           |           |
|-----------|-----------|
| (1) ROTAS | (2) SATOR |
| OPERA     | AREPO     |
| TENET     | TENET     |
| AREPO     | OPERA     |
| SATOR     | ROTAS     |

Until ten years ago the only known example of the first type was that incised on a fragment of wall-plaster from a Roman house at Cirencester, Glos.<sup>2</sup> Though this was discovered in 1868 and has been frequently published, its Roman origin and its date (not later than the fourth century A.D.) has not been generally accepted, and Dornseiff<sup>3</sup> still regarded as the oldest example of the formula a Coptic papyrus of the fourth or fifth century A.D.<sup>4</sup> This latter and apparently all later examples belong to arrangement 2 above.

The first of the two new discoveries referred to above is that of Grosser, published in 1926.<sup>5</sup> In attempting to explain the formula by means of an anagram Grosser discovered that "from the twenty-five letters the first words of the latin Lord's Prayer PATERNOSTER can be twice composed, but in such a way that the letter N as the only once-appearing middle letter is used as the middle point." This implies the arrangement in the form of a cross. There remain four letters, two As and two Os. Thus the arrangement imposes itself as follows :

<sup>2</sup> The fragment is now in the Cirencester museum, to the authorities of which I am much indebted for permission to publish the new photograph reproduced as frontispiece to this article.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 50, 179.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Dölger, *op. cit.*, p. 58, n. 3.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. footnote 1 above, no. 3.

A  
P  
A  
T  
E  
R  
O  
S  
T  
E  
R  
O

A P A T E R N O S T E R O

Such an explanation of the origin of the formula is not susceptible of proof. If it is to be accepted it must be on account of its inherent plausibility. This, in my opinion, it possesses in a very high degree. My mathematical friends tell me that the chances against the fortuitous occurrence of so striking a combination are exceedingly high: certainly none of the anagrams previously suggested—which must, if this is the real origin, be fortuitous—possess much claim to credence;<sup>6</sup> and the explanation has been accepted by those who have written on the subject more recently, Weinreich, Dornseiff, Rostovtzeff, Jerphanion, Della Corte. Dölger is, as far as I know, alone in rejecting it.<sup>7</sup>

In the 1931-1932 season of excavation at Dura no less than four examples of the formula (all of arrangement (1) above) were discovered. Three were scratched on wall-plaster, one

<sup>6</sup> For a considerable collection of them see Jerphanion footnote 1, above, no 6, p. 221f. The most ingenious is that published by Graf. K. von Hardenberg in 1924, PETRO ET REO PATET ROSA SARONA. (The Rose of Sharon stands open for Peter, guilty though he be.)

<sup>7</sup> His comment may be quoted: "Ich sehe nicht ein, was damit gewonnen wäre. Die Sator-Formel ist ein Palindrom und weiter nichts. Ich denke, das magische Quadrat kostete schon Mühe genug. Aus dem Text noch einmal ein Rätsel zu machen und damit dem findigen Kopf noch mehr Ruhm zu verleihen, ist überflüssig." This scepticism, however, does not prevent him from returning to the attempt to make sense of the words, which he translates, "Der Sämann hält den Plug, der Arbeiter die Räder," and assigning a Celtic origin to the word *Arepo*, which following many earlier scholars he connects with *arepennis* (said by Columella to mean *semiugerum*).



painted on it.<sup>8</sup> All were found in rooms attached to the temple of Azzanathkona, but these rooms were early in the third century diverted to military uses. One of the graffiti was found on the outside wall of a room which contained numerous papyri relating to the Roman garrison, the other three in an adjacent room, and Professor Rostovtzeff has no hesitation in regarding all of them as the work of soldiers.

Here, then, apparently for the first time were examples of the formula belonging definitely to the classical period, and dated definitely to the first half of the third century. The find seemed clearly to increase the plausibility of Grosser's explanation, and greatly to increase the historical interest of the formula. It may be convenient to quote a passage from Professor Rostovtzeff's note,<sup>9</sup> "If Grosser is right, and the *sator* square is a Christian cryptogram—and I believe it is very difficult to disprove the interpretation of Grosser—then the Dura squares acquire a great importance for the history of Christianity. It must be noted first and foremost, that our three<sup>10</sup> dipinti and graffiti are the most ancient representatives of the square: the oldest hitherto known was a magic papyrus of the fourth century A.D.<sup>11</sup> Furthermore, we ought not to forget that the square occurs at Dura in a place which was occupied by soldiers and that consequently it was written in all probability by one of them. It appears, therefore, that there were many Christians among the soldiers of the Dura garrison at the beginning of the third century A.D. These soldiers, during the periods of persecution, carefully concealed their allegiance to the new religion and used cryptogram instead of regular monogram of the name of Christ. It seems that the contention of Grosser, who thinks that the formula was first invented by the Christians in time of persecution, is fully supported by our copies of the *sator* square."

<sup>8</sup> Dura; Prelim, Ref. V., p. 159; Pl. xxvii, 2: VI, p. 486.

<sup>9</sup> *Op. cit.*, V, p. 160.

<sup>10</sup> The fourth graffiti was deciphered too late for inclusion in the fifth and is published in the sixth Report.

<sup>11</sup> Professor Rostovtzeff adds a footnote referring to the Cirencester square as "contemporary and palæographically similar." The Cirencester square, like the Dura examples, but in contrast with the papyrus, has arrangement (I), so that, in fact, the similarity is with the Dura examples and the Cirencester square must be earlier than the papyrus.

The second of the discoveries which form the subject of this paper was made earlier than those at Dura. The excavations at Pompeii in 1925 uncovered an incomplete example of the formula in arrangement (1). This was deciphered by M. Della Corte and published by him in 1929.<sup>12</sup> In its imperfect state, it is not surprising that the real character of the graffito at first passed unrecognised by Dr. Della Corte. The subsequent publication, however, of the Dura examples, and the reference made to the discovery of Grosser, revealed to him the importance of his find. He discussed the immediate implications of it in an article in the *Giornale d'Italia*,<sup>13</sup> in which he pointed out how this discovery confirmed the view held by De Rossi as long ago as 1862, that a Christian community existed at Pompeii before its destruction in A.D. 79. It does not appear, however, that Dr. Della Corte's discovery has become widely known among students of early Christianity,<sup>14</sup> and so it seems permissible to bring it to the notice of readers of the *Bulletin*, and to suggest some conclusions to which it would appear to lead.

The existence of only one N among the twenty-five letters of the rebus imposes the arrangement of the original formula as given by Grosser,<sup>15</sup> and this in turn necessarily implies that it was inscribed upon a cross. This use of a cross, therefore, so inscribed, as a Christian amulet must be assumed as current in Christian circles at a very early period. For although the persecution referred to by Professor Rostovtzeff is now seen to be far too late, his hypothesis, following Grosser, that the transformation from the patently intelligible badge to the cryptogram occurred at a time of persecution retains its plausibility, and this second stage had been reached in Italy before A.D. 79. The persecution of Nero in A.D. 64 is at once the earliest and the most

<sup>12</sup> "Notizie degli Scavi," 1929, p. 440, n. 112, and p. 447, Fig. 2, n. 112.

<sup>13</sup> 12th February, 1937.

<sup>14</sup> This paper was already in proof when my attention was drawn to a note in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, vol. xxxix, p. 331 (July 1938) referring to an article in *Pastoralblätter*, 1937, p. 92ff. by H. v. Kaltenborn-Stachau, entitled "*Die Älteste bisher bekannte christliche Originalurkunden*." This discusses the Pompeii discovery and points out that if it is a concealed form of the Lord's Prayer, it is the earliest original Christian document. I have not had access to the article itself.

<sup>15</sup> Above, p. 420.

likely occasion for the transformation of the Paternoster cross into the rebus, which would conceal from the heathen what would still be evident to the initiated, the Christian character of the square.

Jerphanion<sup>16</sup> has pointed out that it would be easy, by marking out the square in unobtrusive ways, to give the same kind of veiled hint of its Christian significance as is found on third century tombstones in Asia Minor.<sup>17</sup> Thus the form of the amulet might be as follows :—

|   |   |   |   |   |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| R | O | T | A | S |
| O | P | E | R | A |
| T | E | N | E | T |
| A | R | E | P | O |
| S | A | T | O | R |

The lines bounding the cross formed by the spaces occupied by TENET are slightly accentuated, and it will be observed that in this case each arm of the cross ends in a Tau cross, these letters as well as the symmetrically placed As and Os being also slightly emphasised.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>16</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 223.

<sup>17</sup> E.g. the use of a cross (+) instead of *chi* (X) in the formula *μνήμης χάριν*. Cf. Calder in *J.R.S.* XIV, p. 88 f.

<sup>18</sup> It may be suggested that the change from arrangement (1) to arrangement (2) was effected to provide a more satisfactory placing of the As and Os, avoiding the reversed order.

|   |   |   |   |   |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| S | A | T | O | R |
| A | R | E | P | O |
| T | E | N | E | T |
| O | P | E | R | A |
| R | O | T | A | S |



The first conclusion to be drawn is that already pointed out by Della Corte, the existence of a Christian community at Pompeii. The scepticism in regard to this, which has long been current, was never well justified, and is now seen to have been misapplied, and it may be observed that this evidence of the presence of Christians at Pompeii gives some support to the interpretation by Newbold of another, and more famous, Pompeian graffito as an Aramaic reference to the Christians,<sup>19</sup> though the matter, in the last resort, must be decided by the experts in Aramaic.

But a consideration of the bearing of the discovery in the earliest history of Christianity permits suggestions of more general interest and importance. In its original form the amulet has reference to the Lord's Prayer, and to the Alpha and Omega. In a recent review of E. F. Scott's *The Validity of the Gospel Record*, Professor Manson remarks that the most pressing question in the study of the Gospels, namely, what happened to the tradition in the period before it became fixed in writing in our Gospels, can only be answered conjecturally. If this is so, even so small a shred of evidence as is here presented is worthy of consideration.

1. *The Place of Origin of the Amulet.*—This is a matter where certainty is at present unattainable, but the claims of Rome can be supported on grounds of probability. It would be inconsistent with all that is known of the spread of Christianity before A.D. 64 to suppose that the Lord's Prayer could be familiarly known by a Latin formula anywhere east of the Adriatic. West of that sea we have clear evidence in Rome of a community whose beginnings belong to the forties rather than the fifties of the century, and nowhere else any evidence of communities at all, except at Puteoli.<sup>20</sup> But however cosmopolitan Rome may have been, the probability of the existence of converts whose native tongue was Latin is far greater there than at the port whose chief

<sup>19</sup> Cf. *Amer. Journ. of Archæol.* vol. XXX, p. 288 f. The graffito is that published by De Rossi *Bulletino*, 1864, p. 71. (Cf. Cabrol-Le Clerq, *Dict. Arch. Chrét.* s.v. Graffites, VI, p. 1482-84). It would now appear that the attacks on the authenticity of this (e.g. Jackson and Lake, *The Beginnings of Christianity*, vol. V (1933), p. 385), lose much of their force.

<sup>20</sup> Acts 28<sup>14</sup>.

trade was with the East. We conclude, then, that by A.D. 64, in the church in Rome, beside the majority of Greek-speaking immigrants from beyond the Adriatic—Jews, Syrians, inhabitants of Egypt, Asia Minor, and Greece, a majority which continued to exist at least throughout the second century<sup>21</sup>—there was a minority of Latin-speaking converts numerous enough to use commonly and publicly a Latin name for the Lord's Prayer.<sup>22</sup>

This minority must clearly be added to, not substituted for even a part of the Greek-speaking majority, of which there was already evidence, and the Church in Rome at this early date is seen to be by so much larger than has been hitherto supposed, and the *ingens multitudo* spoken of by Tacitus<sup>23</sup> in connection with the events of A.D. 64 by so much less a rhetorical exaggeration.

2. *The name "Christians."*—The difficulty of supposing that a word formed by means of a "suffix" normally Latin and definitely rare in Greek could have originated in Antioch has often been felt,<sup>24</sup> and it has already been suggested that it really began in Rome.<sup>25</sup> If we accept Newbold's defence and interpretation of the Pompeii graffito containing the word "Christians" (above, p. 425), there is at least evidence of its early use in Italy, and the spread of the new faith among Latin-speakers might seem perhaps to add plausibility to the suggestion. It is in fact far from certain that the name is a contemptuous nickname invented by the heathen. There is perhaps something to be said for the view that, in consideration of the use of the word *χρηματίζαι* in a formal sense, the meaning of the passage (Acts 11<sup>26</sup>) is that a name occasionally applied elsewhere came to be the normal designation of believers at Antioch.

3. *The Lord's Prayer in the Early Church.*—The influence of Jewish liturgical practice in the earliest Christian worship, inevitable in view of the Jewish origin and faith of the earliest

<sup>21</sup> The evidence for this is too well known to need citation here.

<sup>22</sup> It may be recalled that the method of naming it by its first two words (a practice of Jewish origin) finds a parallel in the Gospels if Streeter's view (*Four Gospels*, p. 498) is correct, that the name Gospel itself is derived from the use of the word in the first sentence of Mark.

<sup>23</sup> *Ann.* XV 44.

<sup>24</sup> See discussion in Jackson-Lake, *Beginnings of Christianity*, V, p. 383 f.

<sup>25</sup> By Gercke, quoted by Jackson-Lake I, c.

converts, has been discussed by Chase in his work on the Lord's Prayer.<sup>26</sup> He there points out that "in the period which intervened between the occasion when our Lord first taught the prayer and the time when the Evangelists gave it a place in the Gospels, it had passed through one stage, and had already entered upon the second stage, of its history. On the one hand, it is unreasonable to suppose that before the day of Pentecost the Apostles did not use it among themselves. On the other, when the number of Disciples began to increase, it passed over into the Synagogue worship of the Church. The first stage eludes our grasp." It may perhaps be remarked that the first stage did not end when the second began, that the catechetical use of the Prayer with a view to the private devotions of converts must have continued and even increased, but the details of that continues to elude our grasp. In the matter of the public or liturgical use of the prayer it is possible that new light may be thrown.

The considerable variation in the form of the Prayer as reported by *Matthew* (6<sup>9f.</sup>) and *Luke* (11<sup>2f.</sup>) respectively has led to much discussion. Some have been inclined to draw the inference that the tradition referring it to our Lord was relatively late.<sup>27</sup> Others, like Chase, conceive of the modification of an original form in order to fit it for liturgical purposes of various kinds both by alteration and by addition. And it is suggested that the shorter and simpler form of *Luke* is more likely to be that original form than the longer version of *Matthew*.<sup>28</sup> But if Chase is right in regarding the words Ἀββὰ ὁ πατήρ, which occur in *Mark* 14<sup>36</sup>, *Galatians* 4<sup>6</sup>, and *Romans* 8<sup>15</sup>, as references to the Lucan form of the Prayer, beginning simple πάτερ without the addition of ἡμῶν, we are presented with the probability that in

<sup>26</sup> F. H. Chase, *The Lord's Prayer in the Early Church in Texts and Studies*, vol. I (1891).

<sup>27</sup> E.g. Ed. Meyer, *Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums*, III, 248, says that the prayer if known to Mark at all was not known as given by Jesus, and would therefore assign its attribution to Christ to the period between the composition of *Mark* and of *Luke*. On this see below, p. 429.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. H. Lietzmann *Geschichte der Alten Kirche* I (1933), p. 57. "Vielmehr können wir beobachten, dass um einen alten Kern einfachster Bitten, der dem Lukastext zugrunde liegt, sich eschatologische Bitten um das Kommen des Gottesreichs im mannigfachen, durch die jüdische Gebetssitte beeinflussten Wendungen gelagert haben.



an Epistle addressed to Rome, and in a Gospel probably written in Rome, we find a form of the prayer different from that which was current in Rome, as the amulet implies, as early as the Epistle and earlier than the Gospel. For, as Chase points out, in a Semitic language the possessive pronoun *our*, if inserted, becomes a part of the noun, thus modifying its form and making Ἀββα an impossible transliteration of it.<sup>29</sup> The two quotations from St. Paul present no great difficulty, since the Apostle had not *visited* Rome when either passage was written, and may have moved only in the sphere dominated by the tradition later followed by *Luke*, but it must, I think, be admitted that the contradiction presented by *Mark*'s use of the expression throws some doubt on the correctness of Chase's original supposition. If, however, it is correct, we still have evidence in the amulet carrying back the tradition followed by *Matthew* at least as far as we can take that of *Luke*.

4. *The New Evidence and St. Mark's Gospel*.—We may further enquire whether the discovery, implying, as it does, the existence of a widely-known Latin version of the Prayer at this early date, has any bearing on the composition and sources of St. Mark's Gospel. The enquiry is only relevant on the hypothesis of a Roman origin for the Gospel—a hypothesis to which there appears to be a considerable body of assent.<sup>30</sup> It is clear also, that if the amulet was well known in Rome, and if St. Mark's Gospel was written there, we have to explain the omission from the Gospel of so important an element of the Faith as the Lord's Prayer, which must have been known to the writer.

That in addition to oral tradition Mark made use of written sources in his compilation has been widely accepted.<sup>31</sup> Both general probabilities and the internal evidence of the Gospel

<sup>29</sup> If it were objected, that in fact the Lucan text has the correct vocative form *πάτερ*, it would be fair to answer that in general *Luke* is careful to abstain from the use of foreign words in cases where, as in borrowings from Mark, we know that they occurred in his source.

<sup>30</sup> E.g. Bacon, *Is Mark a Roman Gospel?*; *Harvard Theological Studies*, VII (1919); Streeter, *The Four Gospels*, p. 489 f.; Branscomb, *The Gospel of Mark*, in "The Moffat New Testament Commentary" (1937), p. xv f., *contra* Meyer *op. cit.*, III, p. 603.

<sup>31</sup> E.g. Lietzmann, *op. cit.* I, p. 35; summary in Branscomb, *op. cit.*, p. xxiii f.

suggest that at the early date to which it must be assigned,<sup>32</sup> these sources would be short separate documents of three kinds, (a) collections of "Sayings of the Lord," such as would naturally be current in Jewish-Christian circles, of the type represented by Q, and inevitably including the Prayer; (b) apocalyptic writings, like those which form part of the material included in *Revelation*; and (c) scattered pieces of narrative concerning Christ's ministry, such as would be in demand especially among the non-Jewish element in the Roman Church. Eventually, such materials were conflated into a coherent artistic whole in St. Luke's Gospel, and less effectively in St. Matthew's, but St. Mark's occupies an intermediate position between this final achievement, and the primitive collection of separate documents. For taken as a whole, St. Mark's Gospel seems to consist of such an account of Christ's ministry as his scattered material, written and oral, would permit, intended to stand beside and supplement, but not to supersede, the probably more copious and better known collection of sayings of which but little use is made. And this impression is confirmed by more detailed study of St. Mark's text. Class (a) is represented by chapter iv, perhaps rather an expansion of a written source; Class (b) by chapter xiii; Class (c) by the Passion Narrative, and perhaps by 2<sup>1</sup>3<sup>6</sup> + 12<sup>13-17</sup>.

It is very generally agreed that the text of Mark contains a number of Latinisms larger than that found in other books of the New Testament, but there has been a common tendency to regard them as due to the unliterary character of the writing, and to explain them as uses current in colloquial speech in the eastern provinces of the Empire.<sup>33</sup> It is clear, however, that the writers here quoted (see footnote), and the many others who

<sup>32</sup> c. 65 A.D. Streeter, *op. cit.*, p. 499; before A.D. 70, Meyer, *op. cit.* III, p. 603; Swete, *The Gospel According to St. Mark* (1898), p. xxxv; soon after A.D. 70 Lietzmann, *op. cit.* I, p. 35; c. A.D. 75, Branscomb, *op. cit.*, p. xxxi.

<sup>33</sup> E.g. Blass *Philology of the Gospels*, p. 211 f. on *κεντυρίων* "I say this is a vulgarism not a Latinism"; Swete *op. cit.*, p. xliii f. "Some of these Latinism occur in other Gospels as well as in St. Mark, and it may be doubted whether they prove more than a familiarity with the vulgar Greek of the Empire, which freely adopted Latin words and some Latin phraseology"; Bacon, *op. cit.*, p. 54, "All these (Latin) expressions had passed over into the current speech of Jews throughout the Empire, so that their mere occurrence in Mark cannot prove anything as to its origin in a Latin-speaking region."

agree with them, are affected by the view, correct according to the evidence at their disposal, that even in the West, the earliest converts were without exception Greek-speaking,<sup>34</sup> and that the use of Latin at all among the Christians can hardly be proved before the later second century. Accordingly, the only argument drawn from the Latinism is in connexion with the Roman origin of St. Mark's Gospel, and at most they are attributed to a writer relatively ill-educated, imperfectly acquainted with Greek, and accordingly influenced by a cosmopolitan patois containing some Latin elements.

But the situation would be changed if such a writer were in fact translating and adapting documents which were themselves translated into Latin from writings or oral traditions in Aramaic or Greek. And the existence of a Latin Lord's Prayer must make such a hypothesis less wildly improbable than it would have seemed before.

The examples of Latinisms which have been most generally recognised as such, are as follows :—<sup>35</sup>

- (1) Ἡρωδιανοί 3<sup>6</sup> ; 12<sup>13</sup> = Math. 22<sup>16</sup>.
- (2) σπεκουλάτωρ 6<sup>27</sup>.
- (3) ξέστης 7<sup>4</sup> ; [7<sup>8</sup> om. R.V. and most modern texts].
- (4) κῆνος 12<sup>14</sup> = Math. 22<sup>15</sup>f. (ἐπικεφάλαιον D).
- (5) κοδράντης 12<sup>42</sup>.
- (6) φαίνεται 14<sup>64</sup> (δοκεῖ D).
- (7) ῥαπίσμασιν αὐτὸν ἔλαβον (?) 14<sup>65</sup>.
- (8) συμβούλιον ποιησάντες 15<sup>1</sup> (σ. ἐδίδουν (ποιουντες D) 3<sup>6</sup>).
- (9) τὸ ἰκανὸν ποιῆσαι 15<sup>15</sup> (om. D).
- (10) φραγελλώσας 15<sup>15</sup>.
- (11) πραιτωριον 15<sup>16</sup>.
- (12) κεντυρίων 15<sup>39, 44, 45</sup>.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. for such a view Turner, *Studies in Early Church History*, p. 243 f., "Few lines of enquiry will better repay investigation than the attempt to trace the process by which the Western Church, and especially the Roman Church passed from a Greek to a Roman environment . . . Thus between the years 150-280 A.D., the Western churches were slowly making the passage from the one language to the other ; and the indispensable companions of their journey were the sacred books of their religion."

<sup>35</sup> It might perhaps seem too rash to suggest that 15<sup>8</sup> καὶ ἀναρὰς ὁ ὄχλος ἤρξατο αἰτεῖσθαι καθὼς ἐποίει αὐτοῖς is a gross mistranslation of ut sibi (satis)faceret or (id) faceret, though the MSS. show that the passage caused much difficulty.



An examination of these words and phrases in the new Liddell and Scott and in Preisigke's *Wörterbuch* suggest that *πραιτώριον* and *ξέστης* were quite commonly used in the East; that *σπεκουλάτωρ* and *κεντυρίων* only occur technically, and that none of the others occur elsewhere in the use made of them in Mark. *κῆνος* in fact, could not correctly be so used. *Κοδράντης*, however, though not found in L. and S. or Preisigke occurs in a second century Talmudic text,<sup>36</sup> so that its currency in Palestine seems to be attested. The rest seem, on the whole, likely to originate with the writer of the Gospel. It will be observed that, with the exception of nos. 2, 3 and 5,<sup>37</sup> all occur in the passages grouped under Class c above (p. 429) in which on other grounds Mark is held to be using a written source. Admittedly, not all are certainly so to be explained, and the total is not impressive, but when we consider that they have had to survive a long and complex process of standardisation,<sup>38</sup> what remains is perhaps sufficient to raise the question whether an intensive study of the text from this point of view might produce further evidence of the use of a Latin source.

5. *Alpha and Omega*.—It may be regarded as the strongest confirmation of Grosser's explanation that the letters additional to the double Paternoster are A and O twice repeated. The wide diffusion of the Greek letters of which these are the Latin equivalent as a Christian symbol from the fourth century onwards made them seem a natural appendage to the amulet when Grosser's explanation was published, nor did the discoveries at Dura alter the situation, for Dölger had already produced examples of the AΩ sign of second century date.<sup>39</sup> But here we have them in use as early as the reign of Nero. The only canonical evidence of their use to symbolise the all-embracing nature of the Father or of the Son is in the three passages in the Apocalypse.<sup>40</sup> Of these, the first (1<sup>8</sup>) is regarded by

<sup>36</sup> *Jer. Kidd. ed.* Ven f. 58 d l. 25 ff. cited by Bacon, *op. cit.*, p. 56. I am indebted to my colleague Dr. Rosenthal for kindly confirming for me the fact that the text contains an actual transliteration of the Grecized Latin word.

<sup>37</sup> And of these, 3 and 5 have been shown to have little evidential value.

<sup>38</sup> Thus in "Codex Bezae" (D) three of the twelve instances (nos. 4, 6 and 9) have been corrected away.

<sup>39</sup> *Op. cit.* I (1910), p. 341.

<sup>40</sup> Rev. 1<sup>8</sup>; 21<sup>6</sup>; 22<sup>13</sup>.

Charles<sup>41</sup> as an editorial interpolation, and so may be disregarded, the second (21<sup>6</sup>) referring to the Father, and the third (22<sup>13</sup>) referring to Christ, are by the same authority included in the writing of the author, neither derived from earlier apocalyptic material, nor inserted later by the editor.<sup>42</sup>

If this is so, a strong body of opinion could be collected in support of Charles' assignment of these two passages to the latter years of Domitian.

The attempts to find earlier examples of the use do not seem to have been successful,<sup>43</sup> and I suppose that most New Testament scholars would accept the view that, however much the idea owes to such passages as Exodus 3<sup>14</sup> or Isaiah 41<sup>4</sup> and 44<sup>6</sup>, the form of the expression makes its earliest extant appearance in the Apocalypse. As long as our evidence for it was confined to *Revelation* the symbolism might as well have been derived from Hellenistic as from Jewish sources, and quotations from Martial or from Greek texts would be instructive if they were really parallel<sup>44</sup> and not merely the equivalent of the English "from A to Z." But its presence in the amulet in association with the Lord's Prayer can, I think, only be explained on the assumption that it represents a saying of Christ Himself. But whether it refers to the Father or to the Son is a matter to be discussed rather by the theologian than by the historian, reaching as it does to the very central problem of the Faith. In any case in the circumstances<sup>45</sup> a possible parallel is only to be sought in Jewish thought, and the examples adduced are not impressive. The Talmudic use of Aleph and Tau to symbolise the whole of a body of material, as when Abraham is said to have kept the Law from Aleph to Tau, or Cain to have broken it,<sup>46</sup> have little bearing

<sup>41</sup> *The International Critical Commentary : Revelation*, R. H. Charles (1920), I, p. lii; II, p. 387, n. 4 (correcting I, p. 20).

<sup>42</sup> *Op. cit.* II, p. 211 f.

<sup>43</sup> It is not clear why Dornseiff, *op. cit.*, p. 123 regards the passage quoted from Berthelot *Coll. Alch. Gr.* 79 l. 25 f. as "sicher nicht christlich beeinflusst."

<sup>44</sup> E.g. by Charles and Dornseiff, *loc. cit.*

<sup>45</sup> E.g. Few would accept in reference to a saying of Christ the statement of Kittel. *Theol. Wörterbuch zum N.T.s.v.* AΩ "Die (apokalyptische) Übertragung der Buchstaben auf Gott und Christus wäre Übertragung der Prädikate des Aiongottes."

<sup>46</sup> Cf. Cabrol-Le Clerq, *op. cit.*, s.v. AΩ.

on the question ; <sup>47</sup> and the use of it to symbolise the Shekinah <sup>48</sup> is in any case too late to be necessarily significant.

It would appear therefore that the author of the Apocalypse is quoting in its Greek form a well-known "saying of the Lord." And this, as far as our evidence reaches, in the Aramaic form in which Christ must have uttered it, was original with him, though perhaps suggested by the passages in Isaiah. The interest of such an addition to the corpus of "logia," if its authenticity is accepted, need hardly be stressed.

6. *The Use as an Amulet.*—The use of the Lord's Prayer as an amulet in Early Christian circles may be illustrated by the Papyrus example published by Wilcken <sup>49</sup> and the clay tablet from Megara,<sup>50</sup> but its use in the earliest period has not so far been attested by any definite examples, and indeed the evidence in this period for the use of the sort of symbols so prevalent later is extremely scanty. The well-known passage in the Epistle of Barnabas <sup>51</sup> clearly supports the emphasis laid by Jerphanion on the significance of the position of the Ts in the Sator formula, without necessarily implying its use as an amulet.

More significant, if it were accepted, would be an interpretation of the enigmatic Maranatha <sup>52</sup> of I Corinthians 16<sup>22</sup>. An

<sup>47</sup> The pantheistic nature of the application of such a conception to God or Christ cannot here be discussed.

<sup>48</sup> Schættgen *Horae Hebraicae* I, p. 1086, cited by Cabrol, Dornseiff, etc. *loc. cit.*

<sup>49</sup> *Archiv. für Papyrusforschung*, I, p. 431 f.      <sup>50</sup> *Athen. Mitth.* 1900, p. 313 f.

<sup>51</sup> "Learn therefore, children of love, concerning all things abundantly, that Abraham, who first appointed circumcision, looked forward in the spirit unto Jesus, when he circumcised, having received the ordinances of three letters. For the scripture saith: "And Abraham circumcised of his household eighteen males and three hundred." What then was the knowledge given unto him? Understand ye that he saith the 'eighteen' first, and then after an interval 'three hundred.' In the 'eighteen' I stands for ten, H for eight. Here thou hast Jesus (IHΣΟΥΣ). And because the cross in the T (= 300) was to have grace, he saith also 'three hundred.' So he revealeth Jesus in the two letters, and in the remaining one the cross (Barn. ix, 7-9). Quoted from Streeter, *The Primitive Church*, p. 237.

<sup>52</sup> Clearly the decision between the form Maran atha (ita codd. recentes et editiones omnes. Zorell *N.T. Lexicon Graecum s.v.*: Strack-Billerbeck, III, p. 493: Moffat *First Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians*, p. 284, etc.), and Marana tha must depend on its Aramaic interpretation. Dodd, *Epistle of Paul to the Romans*, p. 167 n., writes "(Marana tha) not, as Moffat following earlier



alternative interpretation—not necessarily an exclusive one, to that usually given,<sup>53</sup> has been proposed and accepted by several scholars,<sup>54</sup> viz.: “The Lord is the Sign.”<sup>55</sup> Thus Moffat writes:<sup>56</sup> “Atha has here its meaning of standard or ‘the sign,’ as though love for the Lord was the distinctive sign-manual of the Fellowship and that this password or greeting accompanied the holy Kiss. It is also philologically possible to take atha as an Aramaic equivalent for Tau the last Hebrew letter. Thus Atha might correspond to the grecized alpha and omega. As against those who were lax in their devotion to the Lord maranatha then would protest ‘Our Lord is everything, divine and supreme in authority, the beginning and the end’”. Similarly Hommel comes to the conclusion that Maranatha signifies “Unser Herr is das Aleph und das Tau.” He notes as an analogy that “at the end of *2nd Thessalonians* Paul speaks of a sign; there, his signature. In the present instance it is a symbol of the Lord in Aramaic and so intentionally not comprehensible to every one. This raises the question whether this Aleph-Tau or  $\Lambda\Omega$  was not already among the so-called *γράμματα τετυπωμένα* (litteræ formatae) employed as recognition-signs and placed in an inconspicuous part of the letter, and whether this practice in the Christian community of signing letters by a symbol or “Kennzeichen” was not used for the first time by Paul in I Corinthians.” It may be asked whether such speculations do not mutually lend support to and gain it from the hypothesis which is the basis of this paper.

authorities prints it, Maran atha, supposed to mean ‘Our Lord comes,’ an impossible translation of the words.” But other Aramaists would still accept the translation “Our Lord has come.”

<sup>53</sup> Our Lord has come, Our Lord comes, Come, Lord, according to the reading; see previous note.

<sup>54</sup> E.g. Hommel *Zeitsch. für N.T. Wiss.* 15 (1914), p. 317 f.: *Klostermann Probleme im Apostel text*, p. 220 (quoted in Strack-Billerbeck, III, p. 494, “eine spendeformel beim Bruderkuss”).

<sup>55</sup> This translation is only correct if the words are divided, Maran atha. I am indebted to my colleague Prof. Manson for help on this linguistic point.

<sup>56</sup> Moffatt *loc. cit.*

## RITUAL AND ETHIC: A STUDY OF A CHANGE IN ANCIENT RELIGIONS ABOUT 800-500 B.C.<sup>1</sup>

By H. J. FLEURE, D.Sc., M.A., F.R.S., F.S.A.

PROFESSOR OF GEOGRAPHY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER.

IT is one of the most remarkable facts of the world's life that in the course of a few centuries, not far from two thousand five hundred years ago, there appeared, in many old-settled lands from China to the Mediterranean, teachers whose message was mainly ethical and whose voices apparently echoed even among the barbarians around the fringes of civilisation. Lao Tzu, Confucius, Indian teachers leading up to Gautama Buddha, Zoroaster, Hebrew prophets, early Greek philosophers, all had their influence about that time and there seems every reason to think that many of these efforts, not all of course, were independent of one another. Of earlier movements of this type we have evidence from the efforts under Hammurabi in Babylon and under Iknhaton in Egypt as well as hints from the stories preserved in the book of Genesis ; but the main movement of thought belongs to the period when the use of iron was spreading over the world, though it would be a mistake to see more than an indirect link between these two facts. The problem is, therefore, to try to appreciate some of the factors that led to this outburst of ethical idealism occurring more or less independently in many lands, everywhere as something added over and above a rule of custom handed down with slow changes from immemorial time. If there were only one or two of these movements, one might say that they were to be explained as being due to the rise of a great personality, and there is a large measure of truth in this ; but the problem is to see what

<sup>1</sup> An elaboration of the lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on Wednesday, 9th of March, 1938.

there was at the period in question to give power of expansion to teaching of this kind. We know from observers of lowly peoples that even among them there arise personalities, but either weight of custom or weakness in means of communication of ideas limits their work. It is more than probable that such personalities arose of old, so our problem is less to interpret their rise than to see how their efforts gained in power at a particular time and began what, intermittently, has been a feature of subsequent centuries. In trying to probe this we shall be led to see that, while human personality is, as it were, always ready to blossom forth, the successful blossomings are often those which express in a sympathetic way the feeling of their age. Sheer originators may occur but are doubtless very rare.

We may begin with the fact that the teachers arose among peoples who had practised plough agriculture with domestic animals for a long period, in several cases for two thousand years or more. In fact, in the two cases in which we have evidences of still earlier ethical teaching, namely Egypt and Southwestern Asia, we are dealing with lands where plough cultivation is much older. Is it that plough cultivation practised continuously for nearly a hundred generations promotes such a state of settled society as will give opportunities to the teacher of conduct? There is an element of truth in this, but it seems important to look deeper into the question; the main factors appear to be more subtle, and the ascertainment of these factors may have special value in a period such as ours when efforts are being made in many lands to repress the precious factor of personality because of its supposed disruptive influence in a group dominated by fear. We recall the old saying, '*Inter arma silent leges.*'

Humanity is fundamentally social, and, at a very early stage when hunting was added to gathering, society became stronger in several ways, partly because the hunting was done by the men and was supplementary to gathering still practised along with the rearing of children by the women, whose smaller radius of movement helped to emphasise the social focus, with the fire at first carefully preserved if later on more easily made afresh by methods apparently elaborated by the men. What was the development of the unit we call the family at that stage we need



not enquire at the moment ; the social group was more than the individual family composed of a man and woman and their children. It was from the gatherers, that is from the women's side, that there arose the tending of plants, the prodding of the soil with a stick, the rudiments of cultivation ; and, in cases for which we have any evidence, it would seem that the rudiments of the art of cultivation are older than the domestication of animals. Cultivation, even of a rudimentary kind carried on by the women as an accessory to the duties of motherhood, gave some extra strength to society ; it turned the mind towards provision for weeks and months ahead, storage in place of immediate exploitation, as well as towards utilisation of experience in a new way. The mind in increased measure 'looked before and after' even if this led it on to 'pine for what is not.' The calendar of activities began to take a more complex form, a time-measure was necessary among the more progressive peoples, especially if these depended on seasonal river-floods, and this was furnished by appropriate ceremonial related both to the principle of fruitfulness and to the heavenly bodies, the positions and variations of which were the main guides to the cycle of the seasons.

Men were drawn into agriculture first perhaps for the heavy work of clearing rough land, and also for tree planting, and they tended to improve the woman's digging stick, for example by putting in a transverse bar so that they could press it into the ground with their feet, thus leading to the evolution of the spade, a man's implement, as women are far more inclined to depend upon their hands, and, pursuing their lines of work as accessories to motherhood, are less inclined to devote thought to elaborating tools.

In most regions, people, from early hunting days or before, have used stone tools as well as wood, and many and diverse have been the combinations of the two, the fastening of stone into a wooden handle. One of them, perhaps more than one, was the strengthening of the digging stick by a stone point, and some such effort led to the discovery that a stone thus subjected to continual rubbing was made smooth. Stone-grinding was a great discovery, because many kinds of stone lent themselves to

this process, whereas stone-chipping had restricted mankind to flint, chert, quartz, obsidian, some rhyolites and a very few other stones. It may be said in passing that the art of stone-grinding may also have been suggested by the use of stone for crushing and grinding seeds or roots. Grinding at any rate gave opportunities for testing many kinds of stone, for experiment in methods of cracking in the fire, in which no doubt stones had long been heated for such purposes as warming water. The further discovery that certain 'stones' (some copper ores) softened in the fire and left a malleable mass opened the way to metallurgy and other related advances in equipment. In addition to the possibilities of experiment that grinding, and elementary metallurgy, opened up, there grew also the search for valuable stones and the exchange of kinds of stone valued sometimes for ornament or for magical purposes (gleaming precious stones, gold, amber with its electrical properties, and so on). Prospecting journeys and trade gained increased scope. But the rise of stone-grinding appears not only to have led to experimentation with the accompanying liberation of initiative ; it also had other influences of a more or less contrary and essentially regulative nature.

The stone-armed digging stick appropriately bent is the hoe, and the digging stick armed by a blade-like stone, or hard wood blade, is the rudimentary spade. The hoe, as a hand tool, was used by both men and women, the former coming into the work especially in regions where the soil was too hard for the woman's arm. The spade, as a hand-and-foot implement, was used mainly by the men. Improved tools made agriculture more certain in its results, made more possible the use of particular patches of soils for a long time, especially soils refreshed by annual floods such as those of Egypt and Mesopotamia. And with all this came knowledge of the seasons, prescription of dates for sowing and reaping, consecration of the routine of cultivation by ceremonial under the care of an astrological priesthood making and guarding the calendar. Right and wrong, the following of consecrated routine on the one hand and the giving way to indolence on the other, came to have a social meaning, and inevitably the initiator, who often had thought out a device

for improving methods of work, came to be classed among evil-doers if the new idea disturbed the consecrated ceremonials and their traditional explanations in mythological terms.

We thus glimpse an ever-renewed clash between factors promoting initiative and factors strengthening established custom, and the latter were reinforced by all the terrors of magic and mythology, the sense of mystery in face of powers denominated as spiritual even if only for reasons of ignorance. Initiative laid a person open to charges of special connection with occult powers, and often enough some of the many factors necessary for success in a new adventure were missing, so failure reinforced the rule of custom, and some societies even have customs restraining and reducing the vitality of the men lest they should lay themselves open to these dangerous accusations. We thus realise that, while the introduction of cultivation was a great step forward, the agricultural ceremonial that, with mythological explanations, forms such a large part of lowly religion kept the mind in chains even if it helped to screw up the more indolent to do their part. Little communities of lowly cultivators developed their own local spirits or deities, and it might be that some communities with special vitality prospered in numbers and budded off daughter-groups who carried their religious heritage with them or spread the particular worship that had brought prosperity or vitality to its followers. In this way some centre of sanctity might acquire more than a strictly local prestige and pilgrimages might be made to it, and might attract trade to the sacred place at which fear of the priests and other influences apparently worked to hinder disorder. But whatever admixture of ideas and consequent enlargement of the mind trade might bring, the main influence was that of established custom and ritual to be practised that there might be prosperity. Symbolisms, analogies, suggestions based on coincidences, sacrifices, dances and other fertility rites, all these are of the essence of what may be called agricultural religion, with occasional efforts at partial rationalisation or unification, but with a mighty conservatism among the peasantry, a steady resistance to change.

It is hardly necessary to explain at any length that this 'mortmain,' the domination of custom, is naturally most effective



in isolated groups, groups which know little, if anything, of other ways of life, and in groups that are afraid of raiders with other ideas. The contact of diverse traditions helps to break the tyranny of tradition and it is interesting to follow this thought in more detail.

While near the Euphrates, for example, cultivation of a regular kind with permanent settlement and ceremonial routine developed very early, a little way off from the rivers there was a certain amount of pasture that helped men to utilise the sheep, goat, ass, cow and one-humped camel and, in Turkestan and Inner Asia, there was also the horse, but the camel available in these latter was the Bactrian form with two humps, apparently less fully adaptable than the dromedary of the more southerly steeps. The domestication of animals may have been initiated to some extent by women keeping lambs or kids and getting the ewes or she-goats to give them milk to feed babies when the human mother's supply ceased. But it seems certain that most of the domestication process is connected with the work of men, and that, in Turkestan and Central Asia, the following and controlling of migrant herds has played some part in the process, though the capturing of young and thereby the attracting of mothers has been extremely important, especially in the development of the dairying tradition.

But, somehow, somewhere, the domestication of animals was carried forward a further stage. Among the young which were born in captivity there was no doubt a superfluity of males that was a disturbing factor, making the herd more difficult to control because of fights for the possession of mates. The first-born males, sometimes for that reason not the most vigorous because the mothers were very young, might be sacrifices to the gods, their tender flesh being an attractive feature. But the killing of a large number of males was a loss and the practice of castration was somehow introduced; we have only speculations as to how the idea arose. Now castration of the male animals, especially cattle and horses, led to important results. The castrated animals became more docile and their fighting powers and organs diminished, and also the development of subcutaneous fat became more marked. In these ways man obtained animals

with great strength that could nevertheless be managed, and animals which, when slaughtered, increased the supply of fats, invaluable for food and other purposes. The ox, and in due course the castrated horse, could be harnessed to spade or hoe and so be put to do the work that had previously been done by men and women, and with their great strength the animals could do it on a far larger scale. Whether female animals were first used we hardly know, but at any rate castration of males gave an alternative and protected cows especially from work that interfered with the giving of milk.

It is important that in Africa south of the Sahara, except to some extent near the middle Niger and in Abyssinia, there is no utilisation of domestic animals for work unless European or other recent influences have brought in the idea. And Africa correspondingly lacks the plough and the idea of dunging. Its cultivation has remained on a low level and in many groups remains woman's work, save that men clear land and plant trees.

In Europe and Asia we have or have had in the past every gradation between peoples dependent on cultivation, nearly always with at least a few domestic animals, and people dependent almost entirely on their herds. The former tendency is most marked in regions near rivers where floods renew the fresh silt covering of the land and thus ensure the fertility of a zone which becomes densely peopled by cultivators who must go into the minutiae of water-control and the use of every available square inch.

The second tendency is most marked among those who follow the movements of large herds from lowland or sheltered valleys in the cold season to upland pastures off which the winter's snow melts in the spring, but, even in such cases, there may be winter quarters of a more or less permanent character to which a return is made year after year. Indeed one feels that complete nomadism is a secondary and extreme development, and only a few extreme groups are independent of crops raised by themselves or by others who are often dependent on them for 'protection,' which grades into and from exploitation as the story of David and Abigail so clearly indicates.

The delicate gradation in type of society between that of

the almost pure cultivators and that of the almost pure herders carries with it all sorts of variations in equipment, organisation and ritual.

The cultivator, intent on the fruitfulness of the ground, is drawn to the personification of this, by natural association of ideas, as the mother goddess or earth goddess. The herder intent on the fruitfulness of the herd is naturally more impressed with the importance of the ram, bull and stallion, which he has kept for breeding purposes and the maleness of his deities is a marked feature ; is it not the patriarch of the group that keeps it in order, ensures its existence and sometimes has many children by several wives ?

The cultivator accumulates small treasures, heirlooms it may be, which he seeks to preserve, at times by hiding. His soil is all to him. He is anxious not to be disturbed, his back may be bent, but it is towards the soil. He will not willingly over-organise ; that may interfere with his relation to his soil and this is his freedom. He is not ready for war, he will even pay taxes rather than fight unless he is exasperated, and when he fights it is on foot. The herder, on his horse for the most part, is a scout, a troop leader, ready organised, with a tradition of a measure of obedience *inter pares*, he has little equipment that is not portable, genealogies are more to him than heirlooms. Even if his boys (sons of God according to Genesis vi) insist on marrying the daughters of men (the girls of the cultivators), he likes to be careful about his own daughters, as we glean from the stories of Rebecca and of Leah and Rachel. He is a fighting man, full of family pride, despising the cultivators who can be driven to work for him. Little wonder that, with all this advantage for war, the herder has conquered the cultivator on many occasions in many lands, especially since he acquired the horse and a slashing or a piercing weapon to be used from his position on horseback.

In the course of the bronze age the use of the horse for riding and the use of the whip and the sword and spear spread far and wide, sometimes at any rate as a new development from the use of the horse for draught purposes. There is some negative evidence to suggest that the steppe lands of South Russia and



Turkestan were losing their population, and a good deal of evidence to show that Western Europe then had a warmer, drier climate than that which supervened some centuries later. One may, speculatively, suggest that dry warmth was forcing steppe herdsmen out towards the cultivated lands, but negative evidence is risky and, in any case, the power of grassland horsemen equipped with horse and spear could easily involve conquest of cultivators. The Chow conquering in China, The Vedic-Aryan peoples conquering in India, the Medes and Persians coming towards Iran exemplify these tendencies. It is useful to look into some of these cases.

For India, we have the facts discovered by recent excavation of the Indus cities of the third millennium B.C. showing that a male deity with at least three faces was worshipped and was decorated with flowers or leaves as well as with bangles on his arms. These features suggest analogies with the Shiva of later times and one cannot but think that the cult of Shiva is a basic feature of Indian religion. There are also female figures in pottery, but no case is known from that time of the female figurine in association with the male. Professor Hutton has, however, show that, until recently, this separate representation of a goddess was a feature in South India. Another representation is that of a three-horned goddess in the midst of a pipal tree ; nowadays aboriginal women in parts of India desiring sons still make offerings at sacred spots between pipal trees and in some cases they put the tang of a three-pronged instrument (trident) into the ground and sprinkle it with ochre. Other trees which are still sacred among the Indian people to-day are represented on the seals and amulets of the ancient civilisation. There is, therefore, all in all, considerable reason for thinking that large elements of the popular beliefs of Indian people to-day have come down to them from the time of the Indus civilisation and that the latter conformed to the general type of agricultural religions ; there are abundant evidences of the then importance of the cults of the bull and the snake which are great features of Hinduism. One can thus no longer, Hutton urges, associate the origin of Hinduism with the coming of the Vedic-Aryan-speaking invaders of the second millennium B.C. ; many of its

features were well developed a thousand years earlier, and the importance of these features in present-day India, even among the aborigines, would of itself suggest that they are very old indeed. The Vedic-Aryan-speaking invaders are generally held to have come from Turkestan and to have had as one of their chief gods Indra, who spoke through the thunder and personified powers of nature. They also came to hold fire sacred, and were wont to sacrifice the bull and cow which, on the other hand, are sacred in many Hindu regions and may not be killed. Neither Indra, nor Mitra, nor Varuna nor Agni is important in Hinduism, so, as against older views, we have grounds for thinking that the religion of Vedic-Aryan-speaking conquerors who came into Northwest India faded into the background in its competition with the native agricultural religion, associated with the life led by the cultivators. It is noteworthy that Hindu religion does not belong in any special degree to the Punjab, where the Vedic-Aryan languages dominated the scene from the time of the conquest, but rather to the Ganges basin and the south, where the invaders, interspersed among natives, were not strong enough to implant their ritual, and where, the Atharva Veda tells us, it was not meet to sacrifice the cow because this angered the people. There are also indications, as one might expect in view of the above, that the custom whereby widows burned themselves on their husband's funeral pyre did not belong to the conquerors, but was a feature of older India. Moreover, Benares, Puri and several of the very sacred Hindu centres are well away from the region where the dominance of the conquerors was most complete. Now, the value of these features for our present argument is that it shows two religious schemes in competition with one another, especially in the Ganges basin and South India. One is the religion of an aristocracy taking wives from among the people who maintain the other and whose rituals permeate in course of time the upper social strata.

We, as yet at any rate, know very little of any early monuments or constructions of any kind that can be ascribed to the conquerors, whose main features were the possession of the horse and the sword and spear, and indeed this paucity of construction is but natural; we find little enough in Western

Europe that was built between A.D. 450 and 800 the period of the barbarian invasions of the Roman Empire and of the subsequent indeterminate phase. It is what follows this, in both cases, that concerns us particularly. The conquerors settle down and administer, and religious reflection develops, leading on to comparison of one popular tradition with another and to attempts to transcend the divergences of practice and belief and to develop some kind of order out of chaos. In Western Europe the mediæval effort for the supremacy of the Roman Church over the originally barbarian secular powers is a characteristic feature. In parts of India where the conquering element was only a small fraction of the population that element could not easily systematise on the basis of the traditions of the conquered people. It was rather pressed towards abstracting itself from the mass, towards objectivity of mind in considering ritual, but along with this tendency came many a reaction towards the pre-conquest rituals. Consequently, we find, some centuries after the invasion, evidence of movements of thought away from agricultural ritual towards rules of conduct aiming at lifting men's minds above practices which, surviving among the lesser folk and not characteristic of the leaders, were becoming degraded, like witchcraft in mediæval Europe. The newer rules of conduct are not drawn up to secure crops and fertility generally ; that is the province of the older religious schemes, and the later ideas were not intended to supersede, but only to purify and add new elements to them. In Jainism the thinkers seem to have revived a good deal of the pre-conquest tradition as a setting for their ideas, Gautama Buddha concerned himself less with this.

Whatever might have to be said if one went into detail, it is broadly true that the thinkers arose among the aristocracy in those parts of the Ganges basin in which the conquerors were hugely outnumbered by the conquered people, and that their concern was with teaching, primarily ethical teaching, super-added to ancient rituals and sometimes endeavouring to incorporate them, sometimes attaching little importance to them. But systems that emphasise teaching need monuments, outward and visible signs, and, when Asoka took up the mission to spread



the teaching 200 years after the Buddha had attained Nirvana, there arose monuments which have a special interest from both the archæological and the religious points of view. The stupa at Sarnath near Benares, those at Sanchi and a number of others, allow us to piece together the main features of the builders' ideas and it is likely enough that some stupas are older than the time of Asoka.

A great mound-like structure of dressed stone is the stupa itself, and it may be or have been 100 feet high. It is surrounded in several cases by stone posts which may have stone cross-pieces running horizontally between them and fitted into side sockets in the posts to make a close-set stone palisade. The palisade if highly developed, as at Sanchi, has four gates, each of which has tall gate posts and three lintels one above another. The undoubted fact is that the stupa itself is an earth mound of the steppe-lands worked out in stone, the palisade is the result of carrying out a carpenter's technique of fitting beams into sockets, and Peake suggests that the lintels are stone copies of wooden ox-yokes. We have here a whole complex of ideas derived from the steppe and expressed in materials different from the original ones. The technique at Sanchi and Sarnath seems to have a longish history behind it, but one cannot say that we have in these monuments a straightforward development of ideas brought in by the Vedic-Aryan-speaking conquerors; an interval of perhaps more than one thousand years is too long a period. We must await further studies that may either establish a sequence of earlier stupas and allied monuments, or tell us how these ideas of construction came into the India of Asoka or his predecessors. The date of the conquest, also, may possibly have to be brought down. Our argument is concerned with the monuments only in so far as they help to amplify the picture of the relations of Buddhism with the steppe-land traditions.

(1) The steppe-land warriors supposedly of the second millennium B.C. were the nucleus of the Kshatriya or military and governing groups of the succeeding period in India, and the confrontation of their traditional beliefs and ritual with those of the Indian cultivators led the aristocratic minority in some instances to think out, above both, a way of life.

(2) When that way of life became a matter of widespread teaching, those who were propagating it erected monuments based on a steppe-land tradition, of which we cannot as yet say with certainty whether it was the tradition of the conquerors just mentioned or a steppe-land tradition which came into India at some later date. The former alternative at present seems more likely.

(3) As the centuries passed, local, i.e. Indian, influences became more prominent. Images of Buddha, to some extent affected by exchange of ideas with the Greek culture spreading eastwards after Alexander, came to be added to religious monuments, and eventually Buddhist ritual was elaborated.

(4) The influence of the teaching persisted in India to a fair extent, but distinctive organisation almost disappeared there, save in the Himalaya, Burma and Ceylon, whither it was taken as such by a missionary effort among peoples who do not appear to have had any elaborate development of Hindu agricultural religion in their native heritage.

Let us now look at the case of China. There, as in India, recent excavation has shed a flood of new light on the growth of culture. As in India, we find corroborations of the broad truth of legendary history as against the reconstructions of history tentatively put forth by scholars before field archæology became a serious contributor. The matrix of Chinese life is the region of the lower Hoangho together with the Wei valley and in relation with Kansu. Cultivation depends on keeping open channels for water to enter or to drain off the cultivated land, and it has long demanded and encouraged skill and selection, making it something very different from traditional cultivation in India. Whether these ideas of cultivation are, or are not, associated with the special importance of the family, the household or conjoint household in China it would be difficult to say, but it may well have been easier to develop an improved idea in a family unit working for the common benefit than in a village scheme where numbers would have to be convinced. In China, the household and its continuance through the generations has been for at least 3500 years one of the most important concerns of the Chinese, and we now have records of sacrifices to their ancestors by Shang

rulers of 1400 B.C. with considerable probability that these sacrifices were already old established.

The political record tells us of the Shang dynasty, displaced about 1100 B.C. by Chou conquerors from the west, conquerors who, after the fashion of the Normans in England, planted feudal lords in various parts of the land. As the lords became assimilated to the people, the central power weakened and fell to pieces. In China, then, so far as our present limited knowledge goes, we have the decay of an old system of public organisation apparently side by side with the maintenance of the family, and in the confusion there arose the great teachers with an ethical scheme based on the family and working out some more general rules as well.

In the case of Iran we know that the same gods who dominated Vedic-Aryan India, namely Indra, Varuna, Mitra, Agni, and so on, were worshipped among the Iranians of Mitanni about the time of the Vedic-Aryan conquest of India. But it appears that, whereas in India *deva* were spirits of light and *asura* powers of darkness or evil, in Iran *ahura* was a designation of the High God and *dæva* is the evil spirit, an interesting contrast that suggests conflicts between these branches of the Aryan-speaking peoples. That it was this religion which continued among the Iranian rulers of Mitanni and Media, *i.e.* of Iran, seems certain, and, during its evolution, in all probability before the rise of the Achæmenids and Persia in the sixth century B.C., there came forward the teacher Zoroaster with his insistence on combatting the powers of evil. We get further light on the nature of this teaching from the policy of Cyrus which looked upon many forms of worship such as that of Jahveh in Jerusalem and that of Amon-Ra in Egypt as approaches to the universal Spirit which created and upholds all. We have here one of the most far-reaching of all attempts to attain to a universal scheme, a unity-in-diversity.

In every case we have militarists with their rather simple code of honour, stained by contempt for underlings it is true, faced with the problem that mere fighting is insufficient. The traditions of the conquerors and their gods must be preserved among their descendants busy with details of government, and



the organisation of a class of bards or other repositories of genealogy spiced with history was often followed by the writing down of these precious memories lest in the course especially of inter-marriage they should get lost. In any case, the precious heritage became an object of thought, it was set over against the traditions of the cultivator-serfs and comparisons were inevitable. The proud tradition was threatened with gradual extinction as the possession of a small minority marrying more and more outside itself among people who had acquired a little of its outlook by becoming more wealthy. The indigenous cults were surging up again with modifications, often refinements, derived from the wealthier and more leisured of the people, sometimes those who were addicted to trade, though in other places these were rather outsiders. In such an atmosphere of cultural conflict, with tendencies to mediation on both sides, there was encouragement towards attempting a kind of synthesis or over-riding harmony, especially among those children of the lesser rulers or lower aristocracy who, perhaps with a good deal of peasant blood, were averse from fighting. The tendency in this direction probably needed for its development a concomitant movement of economic advance ; in a period of decline that synthetic effort would have been swamped by struggle. An economic advance in certain lands at the appropriate time accompanied the spread of the use of iron, which, whatever its origins, became a feature after 1200-1000 B.C. or in many regions some centuries later ; it was not common in most areas for another five hundred years or more.

The tendency towards an over-riding harmony was promoted by the presence side by side of diverse cosmogonies and schemes of ritual with attendant mythologies. Even beginnings of comparative thought soon brought out, among the educated elements, the inadequacies of both, and emphasised the quest for unity that led to the belief in one supreme, one ultimate element, whatever compromises might be made by the way, incorporating old deities as co-ordinate or subordinate elements in the newer theological schemes. Some might become powers of evil, others ' holy ' elements of secondary rank ; examples of this in connexion with Christianity are legion.

The new schemes differed characteristically in different lands. In China, where the peasantry were the overwhelming mass and the horseman-herders melted into the people save towards the desert fringe, the Confucian teaching emphasised rules of conduct and ceremonial gathered around the tributes of respect to the ancestors and the associated rites to secure fertility—the temple of the ancestors and the temple of the earth, but characteristically, it may be as a result of the old and general custom of male, as well as female, field work, the idea of fertility is not now prominently associated with a goddess. There are the usual fancies concerning minor spirit-influences, demons and so on, some of them apparently remnants of ancient tradition.

In India, which is deeply imbued with the tradition of avoidance and which has in many parts an environment less tending towards highly intensive and skilled cultivation, the trend of thought was again ethical but of a different type. The idea that grew up aimed at the freeing of the spirit from the bonds of routine ; it looked towards absorption into the universal, which was idealised as an escape from the hubbub of the mass-life with its ineradicable crudities.

In Iran, there was not the overwhelming mass of indigenous peasantry, there was not, therefore, either the absorption of the conquerors into the conquered people or the struggle to maintain schemes of avoidance. On the other hand, proximity to the grasslands with their raiding hordes was far closer, and the conflict between Iran and Turan, light and darkness, good and evil, played a much larger part here and affected Hebrew religion after the time of the major prophets and the return under Cyrus, so that Satan comes into the scheme of Hebrew religion almost between the Old Testament and the New.

In Palestine, the return under Cyrus gave opportunities for purification of religious thought, for an approach to a universal monotheism as a generalisation based on experience of many contacts, but, among a people whose political opportunities were small and whose common-consciousness was mainly the memory of the tribal god, that god was transformed by the growth of thought from the Lord of the Hosts of Israel to the Lord of the Whole Universe, with a corresponding broadening of ethical

ideas. One cannot venture into longer accounts of the developments in various lands without arguing matters out in detail and adding many quotations, the interpretation of which would need treatment at great length. In particular, the more or less parallel developments in Greece must be left to classical scholars ; that there were such developments and that they took characteristic forms is universally known.

Egypt had had its contact with steppe-desert conquerors (Hyksos) earlier and its special effort towards a more ethical and universalist scheme had also come earlier, again some centuries after the irruption of conquerors and the juxtaposition of diversities of belief and ritual. Whether this was the reason for the small part played by Egypt in the movements of thought discussed in this paper one cannot be sure ; this is at least possible. The triumph of the ancient rituals over the newer thought in Egypt was dramatically complete so far as we know, and this is no doubt another factor in the case. Egypt remains an exception, a region apart in that period of awakening.

In China, the new thought emphasised the social group and one's duty to it, to its productivity through the generations rather than to its organisation which was a problem that did not greatly interest peasants ; schemes of cosmogony, again, were less needed as a background for ethical sanctions in a case in which the duty of carrying on was so clearly mapped out.

In India, the escape of the individual from the toils of ambition and mass-confusion gave an individualist turn to thought, but that individualism was basically non-aggressive, and so differed deeply from modern movements of western thought for which the same name has often been used.

In Iran, the aristocratic ethic and the accompanying responsibility towards and toleration of the underlings gave a colouring that was neither communalist nor individualist ; it tended to sympathise with the worship of Jahveh in Jerusalem and Amon-Ra in Egypt and many another ritual as all local forms, each adapted to a particular group of underlings, of the Universal Spirit. While therefore, in all the regions concerned, the trend was *away from* ancient ritual valued for its supposed magical potency, but valuable more for maintenance of social



tone, and *towards* the enunciation of an ethic linking men in peaceful co-operation and order, the form the development took in different environments differed according to the character of the environment and the experience of the people concerned. In each case, there had been a clash of cultures some generations or even centuries earlier, and in each case, the clash had led to objectivity of thought. In all this, it would be rather feeble to attempt to assign definite parts of the development to environmental, to personal and to social psychological factors; they are all inextricably bound up together in every aspect of the changes and awakenings with which this article is concerned. That these awakenings occurred in the regions of old established plough-agriculture where cities and government had grown considerably is an important point.

The weakness of any analogous development in Western Europe at that same time is a notable feature. The latter part of the Baltic Bronze Age, the Lausitz culture and other features from the Carpathians to the Skagerrak might be thought to have pointed the way to a blossoming of civilisation in Western Europe. But we have much evidence that at some period, variously dated between about 750 and about 500 B.C., there was in Western Europe a long succession of cold wet winters and cool wet summers that spread peat bogs where forests had once stood and drowned many a lowland in marsh. In Denmark the beech replaced the oak. Cultivation had to give place to herding in several localities, with a correlated impoverishment of equipment and a consequent pressure to emigrate sunwards, creating a demographic low-pressure centre, by no means the area in which to look for enrichment of objective thought and broadening of ethical schemes.

It is, however, very likely that, when the recovery of the west began, perhaps about 400 B.C., echoes of the thought of more advanced regions penetrated west, along with the designs from classical lands that are a feature of the La Tène series of cultures. Some of those echoes may well be what we hear of in references to the teachings of the Druids.

Africa south of the Sahara seems to have felt very little, if anything, of the movement of thought here discussed. Its

population up to this period had probably been very small, practising very poor cultivation of very few crops with a few domestic animals not used for work. It is probable that at this time torrid Africa was beginning to take a step forward with introduction of iron, but it was still far from the level at which China, India, Iran, Palestine and Greece stood when the ethical awakening was preparing to begin. It had not yet reached anything approaching that level even as late as the time of the inrush of European commercialism in the nineteenth century. Africa south of the Sahara thus ruled itself out.

But, in China, India, Iran, Southwest Asia, and the Ægean, we are face to face with a great fact that has influenced most of the world and that has its main factors localised in space and limited in time and that yet depended primarily on the mind of man.

Browning's "Abt Vogler," speaking of the musician, says, "That out of three sounds he frame not a fourth sound but a star." And what is true of the musician has been so true of the thinker that the movements concerned have been described as divine revelations. They have grown from deep-rooted social life wherein contacts of diverse schemes of thought and ritual were giving rise to objective thought transcending the diversities, shedding something at least of their mythologies and seeking justice rather than ritual, mercy rather than material fortune.

### BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE.

It will be obvious to all readers that what has been said above owes a great deal to such great books as Robertson Smith's *Religion of the Semites*, and Sir J. G. Frazer's *Golden Bough*, and allied studies, as well as the works of Professor J. H. Breasted, including especially *The Dawn of Conscience* (London, Scribners, 1935). The writer of this article has co-operated with H. J. Peake in a series of books called the *Corridors of Time* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1927 onwards); these books go further into several subjects mentioned in the article. The Introductory Volume of the *Report on the Census of India, 1931* (Vol. 1,

Part 1), by Professor J. H. Hutton, has already become indispensable for studies of the people of that subcontinent. *The Birth of China*, by H. G. Creel (London, Cape, 1936), gives a valuable introduction in small compass to our newer knowledge of the Far East. The *Cambridge Ancient History* will be found to be a valuable guide to further bibliography.



# A GERMAN MYSTIC MISCELLANY OF THE LATE FIFTEENTH CENTURY IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.

By F. P. PICKERING, B.A., PH.D.

LECTURER IN GERMAN LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE IN  
THE UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER.

§ 1. *Foreword.* Medieval manuscripts containing literature of the German mystics number thousands. A certain number dating from the fourteenth century preserve the complete works of one writer, or selections from the works of a number of writers. By far the largest group, however, are the fifteenth century miscellanies of mystic *writings* in which the contents of the first two groups and later works are to be found—rarely are names of authors mentioned. The first two classes of manuscripts are adequately known, for on them our standard editions of the principal German mystics are based.<sup>1</sup> The fifteenth century miscellanies have been variously exploited but are still relatively unexplored—they have not even been adequately catalogued.<sup>2</sup> They may be considered negatively, as the record of the disintegration and final decay of German mystic thought and textual tradition. The three classical statements—the abstract-

<sup>1</sup> Meister Eckehart's sermons are an exception; they were taken down by members of his audiences and are transmitted mainly in miscellanies. In consequence it may never be possible to arrive at a critical text of his German sermons, see J. Quint, *Die Überlieferung der deutschen Predigten Meister Eckeharts textkritisch untersucht*, Bonn, 1932.

<sup>2</sup> When the *Handschriftenarchiv* of the *Deutsche Kommission der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* has completed its inventory of all medieval German manuscripts, scientific work on the miscellanies will be possible. (The present writer has described the medieval German manuscripts of the John Rylands Library for these archives, and wishes here to express his thanks to Dr. H. Pyritz of Berlin for the sympathetic interest he has shown in this and other investigations of medieval German sources.)

speculative of Eckehart, the practical-didactic of Tauler and the poetic-rhapsodic of Suso—become fused and merge with those of numberless unnamed emulators; the texts of their works are broken up and enter into strange partnerships. Changing tastes (and an element of chance) determine what shall fall by the wayside and survive intact, and what shall be carried forward, copied and recopied, used and misused. One may speak broadly of a final vulgarisation of classical German mystic literature in the latest miscellanies, in which only a last hesitant repetition of the original statements is still to be heard. They may, however, also be considered positively, as the archives of a nation's century-long struggle to assimilate a difficult heritage; or neutrally, as evidence of the gradual spread of an anti-doctrinal attitude towards religion.

Particularly the more popular miscellanies of the end of the century have hitherto received summary treatment. The editor of the fourteenth century mystic writers need not, we have seen, consult them. He may safely assume that the texts they offer are, to use his term, 'corrupt'. The fact that works of the writer in whom he is interested occur in them—and this information he can derive from the available descriptive catalogues<sup>1</sup>—is to him merely evidence of 'the continued popularity' of those works. The historian of German mystic literature may well, when we consider the dimensions of his major task, be excused for dealing more briefly with 'mysticism on the decline', and for referring simply to the complete chaos in the transmission of classical mystic texts in the later miscellanies, and to the relative insignificance of the more recent works they contain. Such miscellanies are in fact part of the task of the future historian of devotional literature in the fifteenth century.

The fifteenth century is in all fields of vernacular literature one of extremely modest individual achievement, and one in which derivative writings assume quite unwonted proportions

<sup>1</sup> It will be seen from the later technical discussion that the identification of the items of a miscellany is an arduous task, even if identification be taken to be merely the mustering of three or four instances of one text. Catalogues are of help only where *incipits* are preserved intact. (Well-known items, amongst which one may include the majority of published and edited texts are traceable through the indices to catalogues.)

and importance. Measured by the standards of other centuries, its literature is, moreover, popular or semi-popular. Applied to the narrower field of devotional literature, these observations are particularly true. The division between author and reading public has here practically disappeared ; it is almost impossible to distinguish between authors, editors, copyists and readers. Original authorship is rare, inevitably anonymous, and little removed from thorough-going editorship. On the other hand the most liberal views were entertained as to the duties of a scribe. The scribe, indeed, has no duties, and the very idea of author's copyright has vanished ; free-copy merges into paraphrase, and paraphrase into adaptation. And the majority of those who could write seem to have written—at least to have prepared compendia of their favourite devotional literature. What, then, of the total mass of works attested in the miscellanies of the period is one to consider fifteenth century literature ? We shall obviously include original fifteenth century works. But a plea may also be made for the fifteenth century copies of classical mystic texts : they may have presented greater difficulties than fifteenth century works to scribes and readers, but they were not for that reason felt to be less contemporary. Amongst them we may find texts which transmit good sources in little-changed form, and freer, more battered and garbled versions. They are all 'corrupt' in that they cannot help the editor of the original fourteenth century source ; but 'corrupt' is no final judgment on the fifteenth century versions. Even a very decrepit late version may still make perfectly good reading to the unsophisticated. Adequate or inadequate are thus the only judgments which we may pass upon them. But there are other late 'copies' to be considered. The German folk-lorist has coined the term 'zersingen' to cover the processes which lead to the emergence of the folk-song from the lyric proper.<sup>1</sup> It may be said of certain of the versions of fourteenth century (and later) mystic works which occur in the popular miscellanies of the fifteenth century, that they

<sup>1</sup> The popularity of a given lyric and its melody comes, for reasons which are more easily divined than briefly explained, to exceed the respect which their originator's name can command. They become common property. For generations they are transmitted orally and are 'sung into shape'—'zersungen'.



are 'zerschrieben'.<sup>1</sup> The fifteenth century text reflects intermediate revisions—normally a simplification and popularisation of the content: whereas the original text appears in a late copy in 'badly worn' state, it is here 'recently reconditioned'.<sup>2</sup> If a copy is adequate, or a version homogeneous, it may claim to be considered as fifteenth century literature. The fourteenth century mystic works which have survived thus long (and the works of epigoni) have now become the property of, and are cultivated in less sophisticated circles than their original, more limited, public; their texts have been disseminated through multiple and serial copying in progressively garbled and simplified form. This is the inflation period of German mystic literature. The late miscellanies represent the devotional reading of a considerable proportion of the population. As this is the eve of the Reformation they merit our attention. In the following, the total contents of such a volume are examined in some detail. It includes copies—some adequate, some inadequate, and editions and adaptations of originally fourteenth century mystic texts, together with fifteenth century mystic writings and a proportion of non-mystic material; they are considered for the purposes of the present account as fifteenth century literature.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The late mystic text is in this respect better compared with the folk-song than with the chap-book. Rhyme and melody in the one case and theological argument in the other exercise a restraint on adaptors which the plot of a novel cannot do. There are, moreover, further parallel phenomena which recommend this discrimination, see p. 480, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> There is one important category of 'zerschriebene' texts which cannot be labelled popular, viz. the 'mosaic tracts', on which see Adolf Spamer, *Über die Zersetzung und Vererbung in den deutschen Mystikertexten*, Diss. Giessen 1910 (= Spamer, *Diss.*). In these, adaptors have plundered standard mystic sermons and tracts for snippets and quotations, and constructed new works, more obscure if not more profound, than the sources used. Such works are the product of devotional zeal coupled with excessive *Spieltrieb*. Professor Spamer has succeeded in dismembering a number of the more important examples, and entertains the view that many works at present considered homogeneous may be thus composed. See further, § 15.

<sup>3</sup> The *technical* discussion of the items is only in part subordinated to the generalisations of this introduction (which may seem pretentious—it is not addressed to the specialist in medieval German mystic literature).

JOHN RYLANDS GERM. MS. 11.

I. *The Miscellany.*

§ 2. *Date and provenance.* This manuscript was actually written by two scribes; an examination of the contents leaves no doubt that both were nuns. The second begins at the top of a page (226r—not, however, the beginning of a new gathering), in the middle of a sentence in the latter half of the penultimate item—we cannot know what circumstances prevented the first scribe from completing this piece; the last item, the work of the second scribe only, is a short exemplum which, we shall see, is completely in keeping with the further content of the volume: for all practical purposes we may refer in the following to ‘the scribe’. The language of the texts is a Bavarian *Schriftsprache* of the second half of the fifteenth century. Further evidence, which it will be necessary to review in some detail suggests that the volume was written between 1470 and 1480 in the diocese of Eichstätt.

The scribe refers on one occasion to a source which she has utilised: (rubric) *Item das Stucklein hab ich auß dem taller genomen etc.* (211v). Such a reference indicates not an edition of Tauler’s authentic works, but some collection of *Tauleriana*. About such collections a certain amount is known;<sup>1</sup> a *Tauler* (the spelling *taller* is elsewhere attested)<sup>2</sup> has not yet been identified as an independent collection.<sup>3</sup> It is relevant, before invoking

<sup>1</sup> Professor Spamer (*Diss.*) has described and analysed the contents of a number of important fifteenth century compendia of *mystica*, from Bavarian, Swabian and Middle German regions. The Middle German volumes contain mainly Eckehart and pseudo-Eckehartian material, the Swabian and Bavarian chiefly Tauler and *Tauleriana*. Of the latter group only the *Grosser Tauler* and the *Kleiner Tauler* have been examined at all fully; many others are attested (see below on the Rebdorf collections). If these two volumes prove important for our investigations, there is yet no short-circuit in our mustering of evidence. Professor Spamer’s knowledge of fifteenth century manuscript lore is unrivalled; the detail in which he has considered them is proportionate to their importance in the fifteenth century.

<sup>2</sup> *Der Taler, Taller*, Ph. Strauch, ‘Zu Taulers Predigten’, *Beitr. zur Gesch. d. deutschen Sprache u. Literatur*, xlv, p. 1 (on Ms. St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 965).

<sup>3</sup> A further reference to a volume *der tauler* (see p. 461, note 2) and various problems of manuscript affiliation may make it necessary for us to postulate the existence of a volume bearing that name, but the issue can be safely postponed.

an at present unknown *Tauler* to consider whether *der taller* may not stand for *der grosse Tauler* or *der kleine Tauler* (GT, KT) which constitute together a well-known entity and the standard *Tauler-omnibus* of the fifteenth century. For not only does the piece thus acknowledged occur in GT, but two further pieces for which no source is quoted might also have been found there (one actually in GT, the other in KT, but recommended by a cross-reference from GT, see below). These two compendia have been discussed only incidentally to an enquiry into the transmission of Eckehart texts; nothing is known, consequently, of their antecedents and little of the affiliation of the extant copies.

Professor Spamer, basing his descriptions of the two volumes on cgm 627 and cgm 214 (of the Munich Staatsbibliothek) characterises them thus: "Es sind zwei, an Umfang verschiedene und sich einander ergänzende, Auswahlen aus Predigten Taulers, die mit einigen anderen, meist anonymen und zum Teil sich als Kompilationsgebilde erweisenden Traktaten verbunden sind, und von denen der umfangreichere cgm 627 den sogenannten 'grossen', der cgm 214 den 'kleinen Tauler' darstellt" (p. 84). The two volumes supplement one another in that GT contains cross-references to items in KT; in cgm 627 there are in fact twelve such references to the contents of cgm 214. These copies were made, according to a note at the end of cgm 627, by one Konrad Welker of Eichstätt for Prior Johannes, head of the Augustinian monastery of St. Johannes Baptista in Rebdorf in the diocese of Eichstätt. Konrad completed his work on 24th July, 1458; Johannes (Herden) was prior from July, 1458 to 1483.<sup>1</sup> There are further copies of both volumes. In cod. theol. et philos. in folio 283 of the Stuttgart Landesbibliothek, written in 1445 and formerly the property of the Dominican convent of Inzigkofen, near Sigmaringen (Swabia), we have an older GT; this has marginal notes and collations based on a

<sup>1</sup> Professor Spamer considers that the copying of mystica was part of the programme of reform (Windesheim) instituted by Prior Johannes in Rebdorf. A considerable library of mystica comprising folio and quarto compendia and small 8° devotional miscellanies was the result. The store was broken up when the French General Joba sacked the monastery in 1800. Most of the items are now in Munich and in the Bibliothèque Nationale; many apparently are, or were, in the Phillipps' collection.



so-called *Exemplar* which Professor Spamer has identified with a Nuremberg manuscript written in 1435. The companion volumes to these copies of GT have not been identified. The Benedictines of St. Quirin in Tegernsee prepared copies of GT and KT in 1468 (cgm 628 and cgm 260). There is evidence, moreover, to show that GT and KT were familiar to the brothers of Rebdorf *before* 1458, the date of Konrad Welker's copies; the copies which they consulted were indeed Konrad's sources, and part of a collection of mystica belonging to some neighbouring institution, to which the Rebdorf brothers had easy access and habitually referred. Konrad's copies were perhaps to them an inferior duplicate, which were lent to other institutions.<sup>1</sup>

We are now in a position to consider the alternatives: (a) Was our scribe's *taller* in fact GT and/or KT?—if so, can she be shown to have used any of the attested copies? (b) Is her *taller* some other compendium of *Tauleriana* which shared some of the contents of GT and KT? <sup>2</sup> It has been said that the affiliation of the extant copies of GT and KT has not been investigated fully.

<sup>1</sup> Professor Spamer has already shown that Konrad copied his works, not from a single volume of *Tauleriana*, but from a GT and KT. The evidence is that the cross-references (see above) which his sources already contained, he first copied mechanically, and subsequently rectified to suit his own version of KT. From the material which Professor Spamer publishes, it is possible to deduce further information. The copies of GT and KT which Konrad used are *identical with those to which other Rebdorf manuscripts refer*. According to cgm 627, f. 113 va, Tauler's sermon 37 (the number of the sermon in the Basel edition of 1521) *stet am kleinen tauler am LXXiii* (corrected to *XLI*) *plat*. According to cgm 215, another Rebdorf manuscript written in 1457, the same sermon is to be found in the *kleiner Tauler*, also on p. lxxiii! (Spamer, *Diss.*, p. 95). Reference is frequent in Rebdorf manuscripts, further, to other compendia, *der Wahrheit Kern*, *das grüne Buch*, *das braune Buch*, at present not identified. They were not Rebdorf manuscripts. Works referred to so casually must have been extremely familiar and easily accessible; for which reason we assume the existence of the 'neighbouring institution' whose library contained all these works, including the older GT and KT—Konrad's sources and one of the sources used by the scribe of Rylands (see below). On cgm 627 and 214 as the sources of cgm 628 and 260, see p. 462, note 3.

<sup>2</sup> The Rebdorf manuscript cgm 215 refers to *kleiner Tauler*, *grosser Tauler*, *neuer Tauler* and *Tauler*. They are possibly but not necessarily all different collections. It was mentioned above that it may be necessary to invoke a *Tauler* to explain the genesis of GT and KT. The *Tauler* referred to in cgm 215 is, however, not identifiable; an 'Ur-Tauler' looms in the background but does not concern us here.

It is therefore extremely fortunate that the piece thus acknowledged has been published, according to cod. theol. et philos. in folio 283 (St., see above) with variant readings from other manuscripts of GT (cgm 627 and 628, Konrad Welker's and the Tegernsee copies, M, m).<sup>1</sup> The comparison of readings shows a remarkable affinity between Konrad's version and the Rylands text.<sup>2</sup> They had a common source which must therefore be the copy of GT to which the Rebdorf brothers habitually referred, wherewith alternative *b* is automatically eliminated. Hence the suggestion that the Rylands manuscript was written in the diocese of Eichstätt, perhaps in the immediate neighbourhood of Rebdorf.<sup>3</sup> The water-mark in the paper used<sup>4</sup> indicates the lapse of one or two decades between the preparation of the later copies of GT (1458 Rebdorf, 1468 Tegernsee) and the compilation of our miscellany, i.e. 1470-1480.

<sup>1</sup> *Texte aus der deutschen Mystik des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts*, ed. by Adolf Spamer, Jena, 1912 (= Spamer, *Texte*), p. 125.

<sup>2</sup> Detailed discussion, § 10.

<sup>3</sup> The interpretation of the available evidence is as water-tight as one may hope. There are possible sources of error which it would be foolish to underestimate. The borrowing and lending of books was in the fifteenth century so widespread, that in linking Rylands with its source we may have linked it with a moving object. The danger seems in this case fairly remote, for it was Konrad's copies that the Rebdorf brothers lent to Tegernsee. Professor Spamer adduces the following evidence. (a) The cross-references which Konrad at first copied automatically from his sources and then corrected, recur in the Tegernsee GT. [This should mean the opposite on the face of things, viz. that the Tegernsee scribe's source had *uncorrected* page references. But a scribe faced with two sets of numbers, both of which are useless to him until he has completed his own KT, would naturally prefer the more boldly written and correctly aligned numbers.] (b) A note occurs in Konrad's copy to the effect that he has had to suspend the copying of one item, because his source was required in a convent over thirty miles (continental, medieval miles !) away. This note is senselessly repeated by the Tegernsee scribe. On these points Spamer, *Diss.*, pp. 96, 106. The view that Konrad's copies were the sources used in Tegernsee is supported by the textual readings of the piece published. More serious is our invoking of the 'neighbouring institution' from which the Rebdorf brothers borrowed GT, KT, *der Wahrheit Kern*, etc. One cannot banish entirely the thought that all cross-references to these sources are possibly inherited from sources. (These scruples may be attributed to the writer's reluctance to commit himself and his fear of misleading others.)

<sup>4</sup> The water-mark has no exact correspondence in Briquet, *Les filigranes*, etc. It approximates Nos. 14766 and 14767 closely (see, however, vol. IV, col. 743 on variants). They occur in N. Italy and Bavaria in the latter half of the fifteenth century.

One further item (11) was taken from GT ; a third, a genuine Tauler sermon is to be found in KT, and a cross-reference to it in GT may have recommended it to our scribe, but an independent collection of his sermons may equally well have been available. Suso's sermon *Lectulus* may also have occurred in the same collection (see below), or in a miscellany. The *Büchlein von der Liebhabung Gottes* was probably an independent volume, or part of a printed book (see below). The rest would be available in mystic and non-mystic devotional and didactic miscellanies. Further immediate sources, which one might endeavour to locate, cannot be indicated. The diversity of the contents suggests that our scribe had access to a considerable stock of writings.

§ 3. *General remarks on the contents.* No item in the collection seems to be the scribe's own contribution. She has further not consciously adapted or edited the pieces which she has taken into the miscellany, but has on the whole been content to copy her sources. In view of what has been said above concerning the transmission of texts in the fifteenth century, her limited participation must be ascribed her almost completely passive piety. It would consequently be possible, were we interested only in the individual items of the collection to consider the texts as the rough equivalent of her immediate sources—which indeed is done in the later technical discussion, for the scribes who preceded her were not lacking in initiative. But we have chosen for the moment to consider the miscellany as an entity, and cannot therefore dismiss the final scribe thus briefly. Little as, in the end, we may be able to attribute to her, any final modification, however modest which can be shown to be her work, and any principle which can be discerned in her choice and ordering of the items, must be accounted for.

On the first point, her treatment of the text of her sources, little can be said with absolute certainty—the available evidence varies from item to item. It can safely be stated that, measured by fifteenth century standards, her copies are fairly accurate. Failure to comprehend the sense of more intricate passages accounts for most of the deviations of any consequence—inadequate paraphrases, nonsensical renderings and omissions. Our scribe seems to have been accustomed to the reading and



copying of mystic literature ; she handles its difficult idiom, if inaccurately, yet with ease and confidence.<sup>1</sup> In writing out certain speculative passages she was, however, occasionally out of her depth ; but only rarely did she take the simpler course and suspend her copying. The resultant simplification can hardly be called conscious adaptation.

In dealing with the selection of items, one may relevantly ask to what extent the scribe was a free agent. Reviewing the total contents one can recognise certain preferred genres (legends and dialogues), evidently copied with some enthusiasm and adequate in their final form. Others suggest that only the simple piety and the application of the scribe enabled her to accomplish her task. One may safely venture that the *Büchlein von der Liebhabung Gottes*, itself longer than the other twelve items of the collection together, abstract in content and bristling with learned references, and which is divided from the miscellany proper by a blank page, was a recommended work ; the copying was perhaps supervised. The contents of the latter half of the volume, the miscellany proper, are truly miscellaneous and reflect desultory reading and intuitive selection of passages for copying. It is obvious that the scribe did not read all the items in their entirety before she began to prepare her own copies—her interest and concentration have at times flagged ; she was occasionally misled by rubrics and the general tenor of opening passages to expect another content.

It is doubtful whether the scribe was able to distinguish by any objective criterion mystic writings from non-mystic devotional writings. We find in her collection classical, pseudo-classical and popular mystic works, and one long tract and a number of oddments which have no connection with mystic literature. But the mystics were undoubtedly her accustomed and preferred reading. Giving due emphasis to her preferences, and bearing equally in mind what is avoided or inadequately treated, we may say that her volume is, in fact if not in inten-

<sup>1</sup> The idiom of the classical mystic writers is little more than learned jargon with later emulators. To the simpler scribes it had associations but little meaning—about as much meaning as the phrases of the Athanasian Creed to the average church-goer.

tion a primer of *docta ignorantia*.<sup>1</sup> In two pieces God speaks directly to a simple monk or nun and guides and encourages them in their devotions. The choice of items is clearly that of a woman. In three quite outstanding items, a popular adaptation of *Schwester Katrei* and two exempla, the same message is proclaimed in more definite terms: a simple woman may be greater in piety than a learned man in holy orders.

The mystic heritage is in fact here reduced to its simplest terms. We may note firstly that our scribe knew no mystic writer by name. Eckehart is not mentioned and none of his works is represented.<sup>2</sup> The names Tauler and Suso were copied by the scribe, but were not recognised as the names of writers.<sup>3</sup> A sermon by each is copied. Suso's sermons are his least typical works (the one here copied was extremely popular during the fifteenth century; it is little more than a colourful devotional guide); the Tauler sermon is more representative, but one must admit that the scribe has not been able to cope with it. That is the sum-total of the classics in the collection. For the rest, speculative mysticism is still represented by simplified versions of the work of post-classical writers, and in oddments by a few impressive formulations and a battered terminology. Practical didactic mysticism is reduced to a series of annotated precepts. The sentimental mode of Suso's more poetic mysticism alone still rings true.<sup>4</sup> The average and constant content of the volume

<sup>1</sup> Cgm 628, the Tegernsee copy of the *Grosser Tauler* was evidently prepared when Bernhard Waging (d. 1472), the friend and pupil of Nicolas of Cues was head of the monastery. His correspondence with Nicolas on the merits of *theologica mystica* and *docta ignorantia* is conveniently accessible in Wilh. Oehl, *Deutsche Mystikerbriefe*, Munich, 1931, pp. 531 ff.

<sup>2</sup> One item, a popular adaptation of the tract *Schwester Katrei* was long attributed to Eckehart. The scribe may have known the name Eckehart in another connection, see below, § 9 on the so-called Eckehart legends.

<sup>3</sup> On *der taller*, see above; *der süß*, p. 471, note 4.

<sup>4</sup> It was originally intended to consider the items in groups: 'Tauler texts and Tauleriana' (items 4, 10, 11), 'Texts of Suso and in the Suso tradition' (2, 8, 3; 5, 6, 13), Mystica of mixed ancestry (12) and Non-mystic texts (1, 7, 9). This would have been a compromise solution. Any thorough-going discrimination would have introduced endless paradoxes in nomenclature; e.g. a genuine Suso sermon is non-representative and must be considered under the heading 'Tauler'—as in the fifteenth century Tauler editions; it is, however, more adequately copied, and must therefore be more fully discussed under that heading

is the following: to lead the spiritual life one must emulate Christ's life on earth and accept sufferings humbly and with gratitude. Through shunning earthly contacts and through self-elimination, through devout prayer and ecstatic contemplation of Christ's Passion, through confession and participation in the mystery of the sacrament, one may attain to communion with God. One should preserve a clear conscience, and not be over-anxious for the safety of one's soul, but rather believe implicitly in the efficacy of prayer and the adequacy of confession. The general tone is one of sentimental enthusiasm, and naïve awe and piety.

## II. *The Items of the Miscellany.*

§ 4. [German MS. 11, accession number R 61197 was purchased from J. E. Cornish, the bookseller, in 1926. On the first page, the following entries in pencil: 1/-/-, 40/-,  $\frac{1968}{B\ 6}$ , 32 (obliquely crossed through) and the word *Gottlichen*. Paper. Clear book-Gothic of the latter half of the fifteenth century. Two hands, the second beginning at 226r. Bavarian dialect. 26lf. (modern pagination; after 46, an unnumbered page = 46a). The gatherings are a5 + 1, b5, c7, d5, e7, f5, g7, etc. . . . (137 + 1) . . . v6. 150 × 100 mm.; written space, ruled, 100 × 67 mm.; first hand 18, second 16-17 lines to a page. Headings and large initials in red, small initials struck through in red. Binding of red leather, blind tooled, over wooden boards, with five bosses on each side; two clasps missing. Watermark, see p. 462, note 4.]<sup>1</sup>

### § 5. 1. *Büchlein von der Liebhabung Gottes.*

Containing (a) The so-called *Karthäuserbrief* (see below).

Inc. 1r (*Rubric*) Die hernach geschriben / materj ist gemacht von / ainē karttauser vnd Sagt / wid' (*sic*) grossen nuczperkait / der göttlichn liebhabung / vnd wirt genent Ain send / prieff oder ain vor red etc. *Lieber Bruder . N . ich /*

than a genuine Tauler sermon. The writer has already given considerable space to his views. The technical discussion—which may alone be of interest to the student of medieval German mystic literature—follows (except under one single heading) the order in which the items occur in the miscellany itself.

<sup>1</sup> In part reproduced from F. Taylor, *Supplementary Hand-List of Western Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library*, Manchester, Univ. Press, 1937. (The title *Büchlein von der Liebe Gottes*, which heads the description of the miscellany, was adapted by Mr. Taylor for reasons of expediency.) I am exceedingly grateful to Mr. Taylor for his constant helpfulness, and for his patience.



pit dich vnd ermon / dich vleissigklichen das du / zu dem erstn̄ dicz püchlein /  
weltest v̄b'lesen . . . Expl. (10r) der aller / gelerttest vnd der furgen / gist zewien̄  
vnd hat ett / we vil predig pücher / gemacht wann er was / gar ains heiligen leben.

### (b) Table of contents.

Inc. 10r (*Rubric*) Hie hebt sich an das Re- / gister des gegen würtigē / püch-  
leins vnd halt jnn̄ vō / wes materj ain yedes capitl (10v) Sagt der selben Capitl  
sind xxij an der zal / Das erst sagt wie alle hei / lige geschrift vnd alle / pot  
hangen vnd beschlossē / werden jn disen zwain ge / potn̄. . . Expl. 16v in  
wellicher weiß / die Junckfraw maria das ge / pot volbracht hab etc.

### (c) Preface (see below).

Inc. 16v (*Rubric*) Hie hebt sich an die vor red / des gegenwürtigen püch /  
leins der liebhabung gotz / vnd haist jn latein prolo / gus od' prefacio / **I**N ainē  
warē Cristen / gelauben (*etc. see below*). . . **E**S spricht ain lerer ge / nant der  
groß Albert, / in dem püchlein von den xliij / tugenden. . . Expl. 20v an / ders  
wo erfüllt vnd das / wirt nach der zal der Ca / pitel dester pekantlicher / gefunden.

### (d) The *Büchlein*.

Inc 20v (*Rubric*) Hie hebt sich an das püch / lein von der lieb gotz vnd / der  
grossen nützperkait / der gotlichen liebhabung / Vnd ist gemacht von ay- / nem  
karttauser Das / erst Capitl / **U**Nd also zemercken / das der lieb haber (21r) Aller  
menschē. . . Expl. 146v zu der volkomen lieb die / da jn dem ewigen leben  
jetz / vnd ewiglich erpotn̄ wirt / jr̄m lieben kind vnserm̄ her'n / jhū xpō der da  
mit got dem / heiligen geist lebt vnd her / scht ain war'e got ewigkl / ich Amen.

The *Büchlein von der Liebe* (or *Liebhabung*) *Gottes* is a vernacular and popular adaptation of *De delectione Dei et proximi*,<sup>1</sup> a Latin tract of Nicholas of Dinkelsbühl (d. 1433). The German work has hitherto received only passing consideration — its theology is semi-popular and its literary merits are negligible; but it was widely read and frequently copied, particularly in southern Germany in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. H. Maschek has established that its author was one Thomas Peutner, who was, after Nicholas of Dinkelsbühl *cappellanus ac confessor illustris domine Elizabeth ducisse Austriæ* (wife of Albrecht V), and canon of St. Stephen's, Vienna.<sup>2</sup> Thomas wrote a number of sermons and other works including an *ars*

<sup>1</sup> Printed by J. Wimpfeling, Strassburg, 1516.

<sup>2</sup> Hermann Maschek, 'Der Verfasser des Büchleins von der Liebhabung Gottes', *Zentralblatt f. Bibliothekswesen*, liii, pp. 361-368. For the substance of this account I am indebted to Dr. Maschek's article and to information generously given in correspondence.

*moriedi*—all are translations and adaptations of works of Nicholas, his more famous contemporary. According to Maschek they are recognisable by a 'signature'-prayer: *In ainem waren cristlichen glauben, in stetter hoffnung und in einer volkommenen liebe behalt uns der barmherzig got amen*, which occurs, for example, at the beginning of the preface to the *Büchlein* (see above). They were addressed mainly to the lesser clergy and the laity. The popularity of the *Büchlein* is adequately attested by the large number of manuscripts and incunabula.<sup>1</sup> The Rylands version is of importance to those interested in the somewhat complicated textual history of the *Büchlein*.

One must at present distinguish between three principal versions which we may call A, B and C, and which were probably all prepared soon after 1433. B is represented by Konrad Fyner's print of about 1477 (GKW 5688), and some twenty manuscripts;<sup>2</sup> it consists of a Preface, and a main section subdivided into twenty-two chapters. The author states, however, in this preface: *von der materij der liebhabung gottes han ich vormals ein bûch gemacht. Aber das gegenwertig bûch is ye wol lenger dan disz. Sunst hatt es wenig vnderscheid von diesem. Vnd als ich das ander bûch geteilt hab in xviii Capittel, also hab ich dz bûch geteilt in xxii capittel, vnd dz ist gût vnd nûtz, wan das do yetz vberhept ist, das ist anderswo erfüllt, vnd das wirt nach der zal der capittel dester behentlicher funden* (Ancelet-Hustache, p. 2).<sup>3</sup> The earlier version here referred to, A, in eighteen chapters and

<sup>1</sup> The manuscripts are provisionally reviewed and classified by Dr. Maschek in his article. On the incunabula, *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke* (GKW), V, Nos. 5687-91.

<sup>2</sup> According to one of these, Basel A. X. 117 it was recently published by Jeanne Ancelet-Hustache—*Traité sue l'amour de Dieu, composé vers 1430 par un clerc anonyme de l'université de Vienne* (Bibliothèque du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle, xxxii) Paris, 1926, reviews by Ph. Strauch, *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, xlviii, Sp. 2001, 1927, and G. Müller, *Anzeiger f. deutsches Altertum*, xlix, p. 205, 1930. The editress consulted only the one manuscript. Her volume contains a valuable introduction to the work and an analysis of the contents.

<sup>3</sup> The meaning of the phrase *wan das do yetz vberhept ist* sq. is to me obscure. Text A (see below) is not published; one cannot examine the difference between B and A and deduce what the phrase may mean. It means, I think, that what has been added is now accommodated under separate chapter headings; i.e. the old chapters are not expanded, but new chapters are added and can be recognised from the table of contents.

with a naturally different preface, Dr. Maschek has found in a few manuscripts but in no incunabula. A third version C is thus composed: a letter by a Carthusian recommending the work + the Preface of A! + the *Büchlein* according to B! and normally followed by a *Spiegel der kranken und sterbenden Menschen*. This is to be found in a number of manuscripts and in the incunabula GKW 5688-5690 (5691 lacks only the *Spiegel*, etc.). The Rylands version seems so far to stand alone in having the Carthusian's letter followed by the Preface of B, and the *Büchlein* also according to B.<sup>1</sup>

We note certain important variants in Rylands. The Carthusian writes in his letter, according to the version followed by Maschek, thus of Nicholas of Dinkelsbühl: N. v. D. 'von dem die nachuolgende vorred ist' (*op. cit.*, p. 362)<sup>2</sup>—which, added to the data given in the preface would mean that Nicholas wrote the *Büchlein*! Rylands here has correctly 'maister Nick-las von dincklsbüchl von dem die nach uolgent vor-red redent ist' (9v-10r). In other respects Rylands is possibly less reliable. The Carthusian's letter was originally addressed to one *Bruder Konrad*, but in Rylands to *Bruder N.* (cf. the Low German print of Steffen Arndes—*Leuē brodere*, GKW 5691). I defer here to Dr. Maschek's view that *Konrad* is the older reading,<sup>3</sup>—other proper names in the letter are possibly garbled in our manuscript.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Maschek confirms by letter that this arrangement was not known to him, but points out that his information on most manuscript versions is derived from descriptive catalogues. Though Rylands is *possibly*, therefore, unique, parallel versions may yet come to light. He inclines to the view that this arrangement reflects an eclectic edition prepared by some scribe to whom B and C were both known.

<sup>2</sup> The same reading in Phill. 12196 (see Pribsch, *Deutsche Handschriften in England*, I, p. 114). Dr. Maschek informs me that this manuscript is now *ms. germ. oct.* 481 of the Preussische Staatsbibliothek.

<sup>3</sup> 'Als Bruder Konrad käme vielleicht Konrad von Münchingen (1445-76), Abt der Kartause Güterstein im Oberamte Urach in Betracht' (communication of Dr. Maschek). It seems incredible that attempts have been made to equate the Konrad to whom the book is recommended with the author—cf. Stammler, *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters, Verfasserlexikon* II, Sp. 784 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *her Hannß Wildegefert* and *herr Fridrich von Cristgarten* appear in Rylands as *maister hanns der wilt geuert* and *her fridereich* (8v-9r); Hans Wildsgefert was, however, *magister*, see Maschek, p. 362, footnote.



It was suggested above that the *Büchlein* was probably recommended to our scribe. Reviewing her transmission of the texts of the miscellany proper, it seems unlikely that she would voluntarily have undertaken to copy a work of such length—a work moreover of semi-learned, abstract and non-mystic content. That having begun she persevered, may in great measure be explained by the recommendations and admonitions of the unknown Carthusian. His letter has not been published: a summary follows which will simultaneously convey something of the contents of the *Büchlein*.

Dear Brother N! 1. Read this book from beginning to end that you be inspired to a greater love of God and that you may seek God in your works, for otherwise they will be useless, even harmful. 2. Be thankful to God for having blessed us with this work; for no other sacred writings have so persuaded me and made clear to me why one should shun evil, seek absolution and pray for the souls in purgatory; why one should desire eternal life, confess, burn incense and take monastic vows, give alms and love one's neighbour. In the Old and New Testament together you will not find so clear an exposition. Were I to die,—for which I am ill prepared—for all the world I would not sacrifice my knowledge of this work. Had I it not in my possession, but knew that it was to be found in Rome, Aachen or Einsiedeln I would go thither to seek it. In thanks to God I have copied it, and pray that you will do likewise. I know now how one should honour God, and to what end one should pray for the souls in purgatory (etc.). I now pray for all Christians, for all found in mortal sin, not for their own sakes, but to the greater glory of God. (I may wish them to benefit from my intercession, but that thought shall not be uppermost.) The book is a great blessing to all, learned and unschooled; particularly to 'allen geistlichen vnd klosterlichen personen die da vil haben zu singen vnd zu lesen vnd zu petten' (5v).<sup>\*</sup> 3. I ask you to recommend the book to all your friends and patrons that they may similarly profit. Let none, however learned, scorn to read it, even though the substance and argument be familiar. Many believe that through shunning sin and through good works they may save their own souls and shorten their stay in purgatory: they are fools and simpletons. You shall know, Brother Konrad, that many 'priester, pfarrer vnd gelert lev't' to-day imagine themselves learned who do not yet know the truths which this book contains and who, though professing to serve God, seek only their own glory and advancement.\* The 'pfarrer von Augspurg, genant maister hanns der wilt geuert', a learned man a 'licenciat jn geistlichen rechte' had the work copied three times,

\* These passages particularly must have impressed our scribe. It may be pointed out that the Carthusian's letter is extremely naïve in tone and is symptomatic of the eagerness with which this popular-learned justification of the sentimental content of Christian religion was welcomed by contemporaries.

and 'her fridreich' praised it highly. I say this lest you should scorn the work. 4. I ask you and your friends to pray for me. Read the work frequently as I have done and will continue to do. I knew 'maister Nick-las von dincklspüchl' who is mentioned in the following preface, when I was a student in Vienna. He was the most distinguished and learned of all the doctors of theology, and wrote many books of sermons and led a holy life.

## 2. Suso's Sermon 'Lectulus Noster Floridus'.

§ 6. Dycz Ist ain gütte trostliche / predig ain begnatter / erlewchter lerer von sa / nd *Dominicas* ordn̄ vnd hieß (!) / der süß aller rewer̄n vnd / krancken hewppt' vnd verjr / ret̄n consciencz zehilff auß / der mynnēden Sele püch / also an uachunde etc. / (Rubric) *Ectus floridus noster* / Dise wörtlein stent / gescriben an der mynne / puch vnd sind gesprochen / zu lob ainer laut̄ern consci / encz vnd sprech̄nt Also zu / tewtsch vnser petlein das (148v) Ist geplüemet. . . . Expl. 171r do kom / sy her wider vnd sagt das / es ir fegfewer hie in zeit was / vnd das sy an alles mitl vō / got in ewigkait enpfangē / ward das hellff auch vns / vnser lieber herr Jhesus xp̄s / Amen / (Rubric) *Et Sic est finis sermonis hui9 / illustrissimi viri* etc.<sup>1</sup>

One does not think of Suso<sup>2</sup> as a writer of sermons; indeed of the four which now find a place in his edited works only the one at present under consideration can be proved to be his.<sup>3</sup> At an early date they were confused with the works of Tauler and appear in the Cologne edition of the latter's sermons printed in 1543. Similar confusion there must also have been in the manuscript collections of Tauler's works: this is possibly reflected in the heading to the Rylands version of *Lectulus*.<sup>4</sup> But

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Heinrich Seuse, *Deutsche Schriften*, ed. Karl Bihlmeyer, Stuttgart, 1907, pp. 495 sqq. *Dominicas* and *Ectus* (!) *floridus noster* underlined in red.

<sup>2</sup> On Suso (Heinrich Seuse, Heinrich von Berg, occasionally Amandus, c. 1295-1366) see the Introduction to Bihlmeyer's edition of the works and the following: M. Preger, *Geschichte der deutschen Mystik im Mittelalter* (3 vols., 1874, 1881, 1893) II, p. 309 sqq., G. Ehrismann, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters* (Handbuch des deutschen Unterrichts), Schlussband, 1935, p. 618 (bibliography). On Suso's sermons further, R. Cruel, *Geschichte der deutschen Predigt im Mittelalter*, Detmold 1879, p. 396 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> Reference is made in Suso's *Vita* (Bihlmeyer's edition, p. 131, l. 29) to this: — als er es screib an siner bredien einer, dú da an vahet: *Lectulus noster floridus*.

<sup>4</sup> The heading given by Rylands will not parse, but can be edited and reveals that the scribe of the source knew the name Suso; our scribe did not even recognise Süß as a name. The heading ran originally, . . . by a Dominican called 'der süß, allen rewer̄n vnd kranken hewpptē vnd verjrret̄n consciencz zehilff', etc. This is completely garbled in R; the scribe takes süß to be a noun followed by a Gen. Pl. The scribe of the source referred again to Suso in an

it will be safer to assume that the sermon was here copied from some miscellany; it is to be found as an independent item in scores of manuscripts.<sup>1</sup> The Rylands text is not itself good, but goes back ultimately to a very good source.<sup>2</sup> According to her talents the scribe has prepared a readable copy.

added phrase (see var. to 497, 9 below); the Rylands scribe here takes *süss* to be an adjective. I suggest that confusion with Tauler is indicated in the use of the phrase 'ain begnatter erlewchter lerer von sand Dominicas orden'; Suso was a Dominican, but this phrase is the customary circumlocution applied to Tauler, cf. the rubric to Tauler's first sermon in Vetter's edition (*Deutsche Texte des Mittelalters*, xi, p. 7), Strauch on Ms. Ka 2 Karlsruhe, St. Blasien in *Beitr. z. Gesch. d. deutschen Sprache u. Literatur*, xlv, p. 12, and Spamer on the opening of the second book of the Grosser Tauler, *Diss.*, p. 104. (Not only Suso's sermons were taken to be Tauler's property, cf. the statement from Margarete Ebner: 'das buch das man nent Orologium Spatientae ze latin, und das ist unzers lieben vatters Taulers', Strauch, *Margarete Ebner und Heinrich von Nördlingen*, Stuttgart und Tübingen, 1882, p. 229, l. 83.)

<sup>1</sup> Bihlmeyer (Intro., p. 27), notes numerous instances of the sermon in miscellanies. The list is far from complete. From Degering's *Kurzes Verzeichnis der germ. Hss. der preuss. Staatsbibliothek* II and III alone, the following entries: ms. germ. oct. 364, ms. germ. quart 1130 (f. 153v), 1131 (f. 73r) 1592 (f. 302r).

<sup>2</sup> The Rylands text shows that some intermediate scribe had introduced numerous free expansions of the text; the expansions are usually only a phrase appended to a series parallel statements—a phenomenon particularly frequent in the manuscripts of another fifteenth century text which I have investigated in considerable detail, viz. *Christi Leiden in einer Vision geschaut*, ed. R. Priebisch, Heidelberg, 1936. The Rylands text does not justify the listing of all variants—readers must accept my word that the copy is adequate—but the following selection may help to place its source in the genealogical table. (Bihlmeyer's list of the manuscripts he has consulted, Intro. p. 27 sq.; text, p. 495 sq.) [R does not share the omissions of *g* (497, 16-19; 498, 25-499, 16; 505, 23-506, 4, etc.), *C* (495, 5), *c* (498, 10 and 499, 13-14), *n*<sup>1</sup> (496, 5), *s* (496, 23-24, 25; 497, 17-18, etc.); *m* and *N* are incomplete. Nor can *R* be descended directly from *b*<sup>2</sup> (cf. Bihlmeyer, variants to 499, 3, 16; 500, 3, 20; 501, 17; 504, 28; 506, 17, 18) or *b* (501, 3, 8; 502, 4; 503, 6). The remaining text *T* is the Tauler edition of 1543,—*R* is not affiliated.] 495 4 consciencz = c. 7 *geblümet*] *gezieret* = *g*. 8 *rūwet*] *an rūret*. 11 *rūwende*] *rürn, gazte*] *verstet*. 496 3 *Electus* (compare *incipit*, above). 4 *kämerlein* = *c*, *haimligkeit* = *b*<sup>2</sup> *c* *n*<sup>1</sup>. 10f. *sint uswert—gebreste* ÷. 11 *hin inwert*] *ein warcz, ane*] *v̄b'*. 12 *mūliche*] *not-turfftig*. 13 *der—geratent*] *den jr leiplich wunden jn wendig jrs leichnās vngehailt sind*. 14f. *daz man—mag* ÷. 21 *bi nūte*] *pey nichtē nicht*. 23 *mea* etc. 24 *ettwas*. 25 *in*] *zu, weger*] *pesser*. 497 1 *hat getr.*] *gezogen hat*. 3 *herten*] *herczen*. 4 *schwärer* = *bC*. 5 *gütten* = *b*. 6 *wesen* = *Cgs*. 9 *bredier*] *disē selben genadn reichen erlewchten predig' dem süssen*. 13 *vergang*] *er gee, verlūrestu*] *v'get dir*. 14 *also—do* ÷. 22 *jn drig/keit*. 498 2 *menschl.*] *des menschē*. 4 *der ir*] *die jr*. 5 *gelewttert*. 7 *aller* ÷ = *bb*<sup>2</sup>*Cc*, *dicz lidens*=*bCn*<sup>1</sup>. 8 *nūtwan* ÷ = *bg, emzigen*] *stettē*. 8f. *daz sū bringent—bringent*] *vnd gedreng dicz leidens des leibs vnd der natur vnd doch an allen*



The works of Suso the author and poet and of Suso the teacher are entirely different in style and tone. The sermons which he, as a Dominican, preached in convents of the order lack the sustained rhapsodic flow and the rich imagery of the *Büchlein der ewigen Weisheit*. He did not include the sermons in the editions of his works which he himself prepared; they have come down to us through the copies made by devout listeners. *Lectulus*, a simple homily on the text *lectulus noster floridus* from the Song of Songs (I, 15) was the most popular, at first in the Gottesfreund circles to which it was addressed, and whose devotions it is meant to aid. (A predecessor of the Rylands scribe seems to have had the cause of the Gottesfreunde particularly at heart, and may well have been one of them.)<sup>1</sup> Later it was popular in much wider circles. No devotional work of the fourteenth century was more fitted to be carried forward unchanged to the fifteenth

schaden der sel. 10 parmherztzigkait. 10f. Ain fliessend = s. 13 ich ÷. 14 Und—daz ist] von dem selben anderñ leiden. [In less detail.] 20 so getrewe = bg. 21 bi] an b<sup>2</sup>T. 499 3 also = bCn<sup>1</sup>. 6 sogetane = bCc. 9 minne ÷ = bb<sup>2</sup>Ccn's, mynder pegir vnd loblich danckperkait vñ diemütigen vnd'wurff. 11 wer dir ablas wil sprechen sund vergeben. 13f grosser eren] deiner grossen miltikait und deines gewalcz vnd deiner ern. 19 gebegen, cf. b<sup>2</sup>C. 500 13 geswinde and villiht reversed. 14 vergisset. 18 solichē = gs. 22 gewar = bb<sup>2</sup>. 501 2f. wanne—sünde] so ist sy sund. 4 after gessen, alain. 4f. Vnd nicht Adam = bc. 6 gantzen lust] nach hengen. 10 so—ist] so die rew geordnent ist vnd jn beschaidehait. 12 Chaym = bb<sup>2</sup>C. 14 das = Ccs, sölich = bs. 15 zu jn = bn<sup>1</sup>. 22 getr. zu got = bgn<sup>1</sup>T. 502 1 leben = bC. 6 solich = b. 13 lautprech. 15 geschrift] geschr. oder ainē erlew(chten) frewnt gotz jn dem heiligen geist das vnd'schid wiß. 17 an in] an die selben vnderweiser (voder here) vnd an die ratgeb'. 19 unrechter] vngeordneter jriger. 23, 25 vnt'schidleich. 503 verw.] zerstöret. 7 verhenget = bCg. 8 verirret (= b<sup>2</sup>sT) vnd enpfridet. 11 noch ÷ = bb<sup>2</sup>sT. 16 vnbedachtigkeit = bC. 17 mut hiet = bC. 22 zū ungest] so gepitloß vnd so vngestümig vnd in geprist lanckmütikait. 504 1 vermút (may be = vermutet, see Var.) 3 zemm. geb.] zawm vnd sittig zu werdē. 505 10f. timberheit] gemüt weis vnd schwärmütikait. 18 lauttrichait cf. bcn<sup>1</sup>. 22 ye me vnd mer weget Vnd heczet vnd jm sach gibt zu der anvechtung vnd bechorung. 25 rehte ÷ = bg, verhangt = bCc T, sölich = bc. 506 5f. wanne—versüchet] wann manig vnschuldig lautter menschen vnd vil heilliger frewnt gotz werdent bekert in sölicher anuechtung vnd jn anderm grossē schwärm leiden dick strenglichen versücht. 507 15 der liden] solichs fruchper leidens. 24 dicke (!), fruchper wercke. 508 hie] hie in zeit. R is affiliated with the group bCc.

<sup>1</sup> See certain readings in heavy type in the preceding note.

and to become part of the stock of its devotional literature : it contains little purely speculative argument, little indeed which is uncompromisingly mystic ; its idiom is simple and direct. To fifteenth century readers it was possibly a welcome authoritative endorsement of contemporary devotional practise. It contains most of the features enumerated in a foregoing statement on the constant and average content of the Rylands miscellany : a short summary is therefore justified.

The soul of the blessed is a flower-strewn bed on which it is God's delight to rest ; the conscience of the intemperate (*gewissen eins ungeordneten menschen*) is a weed-ridden field. (This opening passage exploits the allegorised imagery of the Song of Songs.) 1. A troubled conscience may be caused by one of three ills (*gebresten*) : excessive sadness, inordinate melancholy or spasmodic scepticism (*unbescheidene trureikeit, ungeordente swermutiikeit, ungestume zwifelheit*). (The symptoms of each of these diseased states of mind are analysed.) These ills are the source of great affliction. 2. There are four principal afflictions (*liden*) : one lacks faith in God, or in God's mercy ; one is prompted to question God and his saints ; one is tempted to take one's own life. 3. Lack of faith in God's mercy is the most serious affliction and comes from lack of clarity on three points : on the nature of God, of sin, and of repentance. (Elucidation : God is the inexhaustible source of goodness and mercy, etc. ; sin is a witting renunciation of the godly life and the pursuit of the vain glories and pleasures of the world—a sin is not mortal which is committed unwittingly ; penitence cancels sin, etc.—extravagant penance is reprehensible). A person afflicted by any of these ills (*gebresten*—see above) should note the following six points. (a) That one should not voice grief to all and sundry, but seek out a mentor (*lerer, der es wol habe von der heiligen geschrift*) and place implicit faith in him. (b) One should not be over-scrupulous in confession, for it is the Devil who prompts us to believe that no amount of confession can be adequate. (c) One should not seek to know what cannot be known, but believe. One should, (d) bear one's cross and not murmur, and (e) dismiss all evil promptings (*ungeschaffen gerúne*) and remember that the more holy the season, the more eager is the Devil to mislead. One should (f) not despair in one's devotions, for both our trials and our prayers are acceptable to God.

### 3. Seven Themes for Meditation.

§ 7. Inc. 171r Uon siben Süssen nüzē / gedencken des menschē / Nu lieber mensch me- / rckh mit vleiß die hernach / geschriben Siben püncktle- / in. . . .  
Expl. 172r das streng / vrtail des grechten richte's / do der güt wirt pehalten / vnd der poß wirt ewigkli- / chē verloōn werden etc.

This is one of the miscellany's less pretentious entries. It is a simple enumeration of seven themes on which the pious soul may profitably meditate. *Memento mori* opens the list; then, the bitter Passion and death of Christ, the vanity of the world, the torments of Hell, the bliss of Heaven, the magnitude of our sins and the severity of the judgment of God.

#### 4. Tauler's Sermon 'Estote Unanimes in Oratione.'

§ 8. Inc. 172r (Rubric) *Ein gar güte Predig.* **MA**n list jn der Epistl an / dem Sntag das mein / Herr Sand peter sprach jr / aller liebsten seit äynmütig / jn dem gepet. . . . Expl. 191r das man jn der war / hait ains mit got wirt daz / vns das allen geschech des / helfff vns got Amen.<sup>1</sup>

It is difficult to decide why our scribe selected this sermon. One can only suggest that the rubric and the general tenor of the opening passages recommended it. Her copy is in the main inadequate; her source was perhaps not entirely satisfactory.<sup>2</sup> The opening sections introduced by the question *Was ist ein gepet?* are, however, adequately transmitted. In prayer one surrenders the soul completely to God and puts aside all thought of worldly affairs and of human contacts. True prayer is more than a merely prattling of formulæ and fumbling with beads accompanied by decorative palpitations of the heart. Even where a congregation has been called upon to pray for some special boon in times of need, the individual worshipper may nevertheless seek personal contact with God. (The more speculative section on the *corpus mysticum*, though illustrated by parallels drawn from real life, is beyond the scribe; she has perhaps derived from it the message that one should not envy those of

<sup>1</sup> *Die Predigten Taulers* (Deutsche Texte des Mittelalters xi), ed. F. Vetter, Berlin, 1910, Nr. 39, p. 154 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> The scribe's source was possibly the *Kleiner Tauler* (see above). Tauler's sermons are attested in a number of collections containing thirty to forty numbers, and in numerous minor collections (see Vetter's edition, Intro.; Strauch, 'Zu Tauler's Predigten,' *Beitr. z. Gesch. d. deutschen Sprache u. Literatur*, xlv, p. 1 sqq.; Dick Helander, *Johannes Tauler als Prediger*, Lund, 1923). The sermon *Estote unanimes* occurs in some twelve of the manuscripts listed by Strauch (Helander I have not been able to consult). In Basel A V 23 it occurs alone; in Paris Ms. all. 222 of the Bibl. Nat. together with *Schwester Katrei*, in Stuttgart cod. theol. et phil. 155 with Suso's *Lectulus*. Vetter's edition is based on a mere fraction of the total Tauler MSS. It is pointless to cite variants.



one's fellows to whom special grace is shown.) There are three stages of spiritual life,<sup>1</sup> the first two of which may be compared to childhood and manhood. The first is *jubilatio* in which we rejoice in God's goodness. The second is one of trial and suffering (this too she follows, but the third stage, for which the second is but the preparation, and in which man may become by Grace what God is by nature, eludes her comprehension). Her version of this sermon is little more than a long footnote to Suso's *Lectulus*.

### 5, 6, 13. *Mystic Legends*.

§ 9. Inc. 191v **H**ie chümpet der erberg / peicht vater vnd sücht / sein peicht tochter. . . . Expl. 199v Vnd wais doch / wol wer zu got chümen wil / der müß es mit leben erfüllē / jn vnsern her'n jhm̄ xp̄m̄ etc.

Inc. 199v **E**in maister gottlicher / geschrifft der kam jn / ain stat do kom ain junge / fraw zu jm̄ pey xxj jaren. . . . Expl. 203r nu sehent / das was ein frewlein der ee / nu schamē sich die jungen fr / awen die nit anders schme / ckent dān fleischlich ding / etc.

Inc. 255r (Rubric) *Von ainer säligen pegeinen* / Es was ains mals ain salige / pegein Vnd die kam jn ain / dorff Vnd peichtet ainē prei / ster. . . . Expl. 258r Jch frag dich furpas n̄ymer mer / war v̄m̄ du nit zw der kirch / en gast etc.

The following remarks are in part a summary of, in part an appendix to, what I have written elsewhere on these three texts.<sup>2</sup> Of all the pieces in our miscellany they alone seem to

<sup>1</sup> The Rylands scribe has struggled valiantly with a number of passages on the three stages of mystic experience in contemplation, prayer and communion. The underlying concept was sufficiently familiar to her (see § 14 where she has deliberately selected a piece on the subject) but she has rarely been able to cope with its theoretical exposition.

<sup>2</sup> In an article 'Zu den Gesprächen zwischen Beichtvater und Beichttochter in der erbaulichen Literatur des ausgehenden Mittelalters', accepted for publication by the *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, where the first text is analysed (compared with the complete *Schwester Katrei* published by Pfeiffer, *Deutsche Mystiker*, II, p. 448 sqq.) and the second and third are edited according to the Rylands and parallel versions. The article was submitted in typescript to Professor Fr. Ranke of Breslau who informed me that Professor Spamer plans a monograph on a related subject, *Die geistliche Hausmagd*, but urged me to publish my contribution—Professor Spamer's work has been in typescript for many years. Since receiving this note I have examined the latter's writings more thoroughly, particularly the article on the transmission of Eckehart's texts in *Beitr. z. Gesch. d. deutschen Sprache u. Literatur*, xxxiv, and profited con-

be strictly contemporary and sprung of the circles in which our scribe herself moved. The latter two belong to a sub-literary genre—are exempla; the first is an adaptation of a well-known tract, *Schwester Katrei* (*Meister Eckehartes tochter von Strâzburg*), long attributed to Eckehart himself. As they stand in Rylands they are simple dialogued storyettes in prose. One theme, when reduced to the following formula is common to them all: a young woman is asked by her confessor to give an account of her religious life; this she does, and he is bound to admit that her life is more holy than his. Such stories, which Spamer has called 'einige der schönsten Erzeugnisse der frauenklösterlichen Mystik,'<sup>1</sup> arose in circles in which for over a century the sensational revelations of visionary nuns, Suso's *Vita* and *Büchlein der ewigen Weisheit* and the writings of the *Gottesfreunde* had been favourite reading matter. (More abstract writings, though revered, laboriously copied and excerpted, were rather 'authorities' to which one turned in piety and as an act of discipline. They have left but one precipitate in these stories—a debased traditional terminology and a number of high-sounding but antiquated formulations.) They dramatise the spirit of *docta ignorantia*.

According to slight variations in the basic scheme (status and number of the questioners and questioned) and in the nature of the questions and answers—there is, in fact, not a constant element in the formula—one can distinguish numerous variants. Two, 'The young woman of two-and-twenty' and 'The pious Beguine' I have already examined in some detail; others (St. Bernhards Tochter, Die fromme Müllerin) I have enumerated. My inquiry was not exhaustive: a group of tales which sprang up about the real or legendary Eckehart, and the *Geistliche Hausmagd*—variants which Professor Spamer will probably consider more central, were not explicitly mentioned. All seem to me to be contemporary, in so far as one will not attempt to derive one from the other. The outline of the story was

siderably. From his footnote references on pp. 405 and 406 I deduce that my second text is known to him, and that he also would include *Schwester Katrei* and the *Beghinchen von Paris* (see below) in his discussion of the type of story here examined.

generally known in the fifteenth century, and is probably dateless.<sup>1</sup> According to the circles in which the renewers of the story moved—most were nuns—and in some measure according to the sentimentality of their piety, the questioner became a confessor, a doctor of theology, St. Bernhard, Meister Eckehart or a Prioress; the questioned a young woman, a married woman, a child, a beggar, a Beguine. The nature of the questions and answers depended on the individual writer's recent devotional practice, her reading, and perhaps more particularly on her knowledge of gnomic devotional literature.

The problem of chronology presents itself the moment one turns to specific *texts*. The first Rylands exemplum and the tract *Schwester Katrei* (I do not refer here to the Rylands adaptation) both offer the same variant. In each a young woman (in the exemplum a married woman) seeks advice of her confessor; she would know how a woman may best attain salvation. The confessor questions her on her devotional practice (*übungen*); she distinguishes, in her answer, between 'inwendige' and 'auswendige übungen'; the confessor admits that the woman's spiritual life is holier than his. The tale and the tract are obviously related though they are in further content and in general tone poles apart. I have shown that *Schwester Katrei* (which is known to be a conglomeration of gleanings from tract and sermon) is the contemporary sophisticated version: it is the work of a learned emulator of Eckehart. Not only has our story here become the vehicle of a mass of speculative mystic argument—to the naïvely pious housewife of the exemplum corresponds a veritable blue-stocking, who ousts her own confessor in the subtleties of abstract theological argument, and finally instructs him. The affinity between the tract and the simpler tale was nevertheless appreciated by a fifteenth century reader, the scribe of the source of Rylands. The Rylands *Schwester Katrei* is a completely recast, simplified and popularised version of the tract: it has been reduced by main force to the level of an exemplum.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the Macarius story, Migne, lxxiii, 778, and J. A. Herbert, *Catalogue of Romances* III, pp. 515, 593.

<sup>2</sup> The impression will by now have been conveyed that I attribute nothing but the final copies to the Rylands scribe. Such thorough-going editorship as



But by stamping the one version as sophisticated and the other as simple we have not yet made any pronouncement on the relative chronology of the two. The solution is not free from contradictions. The simple story is *essentially* older than the tract: the whole point of such stories is that a *simple* woman triumphs over a learned theologian. The exemplum is nevertheless, as it stands in Rylands younger than, and dependent on, *Schwester Katrei*. The priority of the latter is guaranteed by the manner in which the questions and answers are transmitted in each. The distinction drawn between 'inwendige' and 'auswendige übungen' is the work of one interested primarily in the theological implications of the story, and has its starting-point in the tract. In the tract ten 'auswendige übungen' and one 'inwendige übung' are listed under appropriate rubrics; in the exemplum six entirely different 'übungen' are arbitrarily divided into two groups of three, and placed under corresponding rubrics.<sup>1</sup> The *correct* division, ten and one, is obviously older than the *incorrect* and distinctly popular division, three and three. My conclusions are (1) The simple story is in outline older than *Schwester Katrei*. (2) The questions and answers constituting the middle section of the exemplum are modelled on the corresponding section in the tract, and were grafted on to the older story during the course of

is represented by the adaptation of *Schwester Katrei* was certainly beyond the competence of the scribe responsible for the copy of the Tauler sermon, and for items 3 and 9. I incline also to attribute the juxtaposition of the texts 5 and 6 to the scribe of her source. [The statement that the adaptation is 'popular' calls for certain reservations: there is still a fairly heavy ballast of theoretical discussion, but it is transmitted in simpler form. The epigrammatic conclusion of the exemplum 'go pray for me, your life is holier than mine' (which could easily have been achieved by the adaptation of Pfeiffer 463, 37-40) is missed. The intention of the adaptor is transparent, the execution imperfect. The main formal achievement is the reduction of four dialogues and a mass of extraneous matter to one dialogue and a reasonable number of digressions. Note that there is no version of *Schwester Katrei* amongst those listed by Otto Simon, *Überlieferung und Handschriftenverhältnis des Traktates S.K.*, Diss. Halle, 1906, which approaches Rylands even remotely (the adaptation is in fact based on the longer versions which Simon calls *Fassung II*).

<sup>1</sup> I have examined five versions of the exemplum. The 'übungen' which occur under the rubric *inwendig* in two versions appear under *auswendig* in the other three and *vice versa*! The six übungen are derived here from some gnostic compilation—cf. item 3 of the miscellany.

its transmission.<sup>1</sup> (3) The compiler of *Schwester Katrei* utilised a story of the type still represented in all essentials by the exemplum.<sup>2</sup>

The third text is, it will be remembered, the work of the second scribe (see above). The people in this dialogue are a priest and a Beguine. He asks her why she goes to church only on the Sabbath; she explains that she is busy (unmüssig) on every day but the Sabbath, and mentions some more pressing duty (she must weed her garden, go to market, tend a sick person) which, the priest demurring, she interprets allegorically: her daily tasks are her 'contemplations'.<sup>3</sup> The idea is subtle enough; it is doubtful whether an exemplum was the first version.<sup>4</sup> I have been able to show that there are marked affinities between it and a Middle Low German ballad-like poem known as the *Beghinchen von Paris*.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This is again analogous to a phenomenon one may observe in the transmission of folk-songs, viz. that stanzas occasionally migrate from one song to another—provided that the rhythmical schemes tally and that the content of the loose stanza is stereotyped and non-committal. It has been said that high-sounding mystic formulations had associations but no real meaning to simpler scribes; they were without prejudice transferable from one context to another.

<sup>2</sup> The one dialogue in the tract in which 'übungen' are discussed is even in the longest versions of *Schwester Katrei* still no longer than in our exemplum. If the tract now takes up twenty-seven pages of close print, it is not owing to any organic elaboration of the main theme, but to simple multiplication (four dialogues instead of one) and the addition of new material before and after. Until recently I believed that I had adduced evidence in favour of a simpler form of *Schwester Katrei*. I pointed out that a 'Priamel' (= preamble, a popular didactic genre, text: *Deutsche Texte des Mittelalters*, xiv, p. 121) in a Wolfenbüttel manuscript gives the same outline story and the ten and one 'übungen,' exactly as in the tract. It seemed impossible that this simple text could be based on the tract, and advanced that the reverse was true,—at least that both were adaptations of some simple prose story. But *Schwester Katrei* has been excerpted by writers preparing mosaic tracts; Professor Spamer notes that the scene in which 'übungen' are discussed was occasionally copied separately (*op. cit.*, p. 367). The Priamel is probably only a secondary adaptation of such a copy.

<sup>3</sup> The subject of her contemplations are principally the events of the Passion Week. Works containing 'contemplations' for the different days of the week or for the different hours of the day are extremely numerous in the fifteenth century.

<sup>4</sup> I know no Middle High German text so completely popular in idiom and syntax as this exemplum. But it was nevertheless copied from a written source: the source had *erntag* for 'Tuesday', a dialectal form strictly limited to southern Bavarian, east of the Lech; our text has *ersten* which can only be a copyist's error.

<sup>5</sup> The most convenient text of the *Beghinchen* is O. Schade, *Geistliche Gedichte vom Niederrhein*, 1854, pp. 333 sqq.

## 7. 'Das geistliche tLeben.'

§ 10. Inc. 203r O Mensch wildu geistli / ch sein so tu es mit den / wercken  
schein. . . . Expl. 204v dein tod be / denck gar aigenlich dar / auf so richt dich  
ernstlich / Amen.

This is the only rhymed piece in our manuscript: after the first couplet (above) there are forty-five lines rhyming in *-lich*. It consists of a string of precepts, some moral in the style of the distiches of Cato, some religious; others are simple rules of conduct. There seems to be little arrangement: that one should model one's life on that of Christ comes between the recommendation that one should go modestly about one's business and a warning against night-travel.

This platitudinous rigmarole has had a rich textual development and occurs in varying forms in sources from Switzerland to Silesia. It is not always immediately recognisable, and has received quite unmerited publicity in several independent investigations. Karl Euling first drew together some of the strands, published a long version and measured various others by it.<sup>1</sup> A considerably modified text was recently published by Jos. Klapper, who discovered it in East Middle German manuscripts containing the works of Johann of Neumarkt, the

<sup>1</sup> In a report on MS. 1590 of the Univ. Library of Leipzig, Euling printed a version longer than Rylands by eight further lines rhyming in *-lich* + Amen das es war were + 20 lines with the rhymes *dut/mut/gut*, and a final couplet (*Germania*, xxxiii, pp. 162 sq.). At a later date he rediscovered the poem in the Wolfenbüttel MS. 2. 4. Aug. 2° (= the *Priamelhandschrift* edited in *Deutsche Texte des Mittelalters*, xiv, where the piece occurs as No. 770). He refers (*ibid.*, Intro., p. xv) to further versions to be found in the so-called *Liederbuch der Clara Hätzlerin* (ed. Althaus, 1840) where the poem is 'auf weniger als die Hälfte zusammengeschrumpft' and has only 45 lines. Rylands has 47 lines; 'zusammengeschrumpft' is the wrong word—the lines with the new rhymes must be additions. The *Germania* text is the best basis for comparisons, however. As importance seems to be attached to this poem the Rylands variants follow: (mere morphological variants in the rhyming adverbs are not listed) 3 gar *fuderl*. 5 gar *dult*] gedult. After 9; nach Cristus leben übs formiklich. 10 abentewr! 12 hüt du. 13 nichtz, vnnützlich. 14 *sach nit*] scham Vnd. 15 *dir*] dein so. 16 mit *deinen*, genos. 17 *Deinen*] dein. 18 erger, nyemant nit. 19 *al tag* ÷. 26 *jn*]vnd, geittiklich. 27 *wid'tee* gar. 28 all sünt, *streit* gar. 30 dar *jnn* pet andachtlickh. 31 dē schweigen hat pehütsamklich. 33 selb pehalt. 34 *pej* so. 36 *eitellich*] trüglich. 37 *selbe halt*] selben en pfach. 40 erwardigklich. 41 sel gar löblich. 42/43 dein nächsten hab lieb als dich/selber nüt hind'kauff *jn* hässigklich. 44 gewars. 45 *den*] dein, aigenlich. 46 *auf* so. (Rest lacking.)



chancellor of Charles IV—a less apt context it would be difficult to find.<sup>1</sup>

8. '*Christi Trostrede an eine Nonne.*'

§ 11. In this piece Christ soliloquises a nun at her devotions, and in moving words exhorts her to seek comfort only in him, to invoke his help through fervent prayer, to place trust in his wisdom, to believe always, especially in times of tribulation in his justice and benevolence and, taking courage from the example of the disciples, to await her reward in patience. The tone is that of the writings of the *Gottesfreunde*—to whom *mein knechte(n)* 207r, possibly refers. The Rylands copy is perfectly adequate. The piece has not been noticed previously and merits publication.<sup>2</sup>

**Das der mensch in trübnuß nicht verzagen sol,  
sunder gedultiklich warten der göt- (205r) -lichen  
tröstung etc.**

Chint, Jch pin der herr, der da tröst jn dem tag der petrübnuß ; Chümmst du nü zu mir, so dir nit wol ist ? Das ist, das aller maist hindert vnd irrt die hÿmlich tröstung—das du dich als spat cherst zu dem gepet ; wann ee du mich jnnigklichen pittest, süchst du vil zeitlicher tröstung vnd erlustet dich jn dem

<sup>1</sup> *Schriften Johanns von Neumarkt, Gebete des Hofkanzlers und des Prager Kulturkreises* (= Vom Mittelalter zur Reformation VI, 4) ed. by Jos. Klapper, Berlin, 1935, pp. 360 sq. This version stands quite apart, having the following incipit : Welch mensche wil geistlichen seyn / Der sal ansehn dis buchelyn / Vnd sal sich dornach richtin gar / So wirt sin lebin on gefar / Versme dy werld gemeinlich, followed by 34 lines rhyming in -lich. The lines appear in different order ; there are omissions and additions. Klapper did not identify the piece. I note further versions in G. Binz, *Die deutschen Hss. der öffentl. Bibl. der Universität Basel* I (1907), p. 124 (MS. A X 130 f. 122r.)—Binz prints the first fifteen lines and the explicit, and remarks that the source was probably Bavarian,—and in Degering, *Kurzes Verzeichnis*, etc., III (1932), note on MS. germ. oct. 137, f. 146r.

<sup>2</sup> The piece is almost certainly complete in itself, i.e. is not excerpted from a longer work. After failing to discover it in the editions of mystic texts and in a number of more detailed descriptive catalogues, I referred the case to Dr. Pyritz of the *Handschriftenarchiv* of the *Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften* who informed me that it is not recorded. Though the *Archiv* has not completed its inventarisation, it seems improbable that parallels will come to light. Item 12 (below) is similarly not attested elsewhere, but may well be a conglomerate text, not to be identified by its *incipit* and *explicit* alone. As for the text here published, it differs from a diplomatic copy only in so far as capitals at the beginnings of sentences and modern punctuation are introduced and scribal errors are corrected. After the rubric, expanded abbreviations are indicated by italics.

ausseren. Darumb geschichtz, das die alle gar klainen nütz pringen, als lang, pis du merckest vnd erkennest, das ich der pin, der da tröst, die in mich hoffent. Es ist (205v) aus mir chain hilffliche hilff, noch chain nütze hilff, noch chain beleibliche trostung, Sunder : nach diß vngestümhait erkückh deinen geist vnd erfrew dich in dem liecht meiner genaden, wann : 'ich pin nahent den, die ains petrübten herczen sein', spricht der herr, 'das ich wider pring das verlorn nit alain ganczlich, sunder vberflüssigklich vnd hauffen weis'.<sup>1</sup> Ist mir aber ichtz zeschwär, oder pin ich ainem geleich, der da spricht vnd nit tüt? Wo ist dein gelaub?—Ste vesticlich vnd harr, pis starck vnd lanckhmütig! (206r) Vnd dir kümpt die trostung zu seiner zeit. Peit mein, peit!—ich chüm vnd wil dich hailen.

Es ist ain versuchung, das dich petrübt, vnd ain eyttle vorcht, das dich erschreckt. Was ist es nütz, das du sargueltiklich pist auff künfftigs vbel, nür das du ain trawrigkait vber die ander habst : 'Es ist genüg aynem yeglichenn tag sein aygen vbel.' Es ist gar eytel vnd vnnütz dem menschen, das er petrübt wirt oder sich frewt chünfftiger ding, die vil leicht nymmer geschent. Es ist menschlich, das der mensch durch soliche ein pildung (206v) betrogen werd. Es ist aber ain zaichen ains klainen gemütes, das der mensch so leicht zogen wirt auf das fürwerffen des veints, wann er acht nit, ob er durch wars oder gelogens den menschen betrieg vnd verspot, ob er durch lieb der gegenwürtigen oder durch vorcht der künfftigen [ding] den menschen fel<sup>2</sup> vnd nider werff. Darvmb petrüb dein hercz nit so leicht vnd fürcht dir nit so hart : jn mir vnd in meiner<sup>3</sup> parmherczikait hab getrawen! Wann du wänst, ich sej dir aller verrist, so pin ich dir oft aller nächst; wenn du wänst, es sej geleich (207r) gancz verlorn, So kert es sich oft zu dem pesten. Du solt nit richten nach dein gegenwürtigen enpfinden, noch äiner yeglichen schwärhait oder trübnüs, wanne,<sup>4</sup> vnd sy chöment ist, also anhangen vnd auff nemen, geleich als ob nicht hin kömens sej ertrinckens.

Du solt dich nit schäczen als gar verlassen, wie wol das ist, das ich dir zu zeitten schick trübsal vnd dir die pegirlich süssen tröstung en czech; wann also get man zu dem reich der hymel, vnd, an zweiffel, es ist mer nütz dir vnd andern mein knechten, das ir (207v) Also geübt vnd versücht werdt jn widerwärtikait, dann das ir alle ding nach ewrem willen hiet. Wann ich han erchant dein verporgen gedänckh—das<sup>5</sup> es dir gar vast nütz ist zu deiner<sup>6</sup> sel sälligkeit, das du vntter weiben an süssigkait seist, das du dich nit erhebest vnd dir selbs villeicht jn dem geuallen wolcz, das du noch nit pist. Das ich geben han, das mag ich auch wider nemen, vnd mags auch wider geben, wenn ich wil; wenn ichs gib so ist es mein, vnd wenn ichs von dir nym, so han ich das dein nit genomen,

<sup>1</sup> Based on Mark, x. 29-30. The following quotations (Matt. vi. 34 and John, xv. 9) are exact.

<sup>2</sup> MS. sel.

<sup>3</sup> MS. mieiner.

<sup>4</sup> MS. wannē. If this is not corrected, *wannen vnd sy choment ist* would mean 'whence-ever it comes', which is itself satisfactory, but *sunder* would have to be supplied before *also anhangen*. I have restored *wanne* which I take to be = *but, however*; the following *vnd* = *if*.

<sup>5</sup> Is dependent on *ich han erchant*, not *gedänckh*.

<sup>6</sup> MS. seiner.

(208r) Wann mein ist alles gû vnd alle volkômne gab. Schickh ich dir ain schwärhait, oder was widerwärtikait das ist, pis nit so vnwirdig vnd so vnleydlich vnd petrüb dein hercz nit so vast, wann ich mag dich pald dar aus entheben vnd all dein schwärnüsß vnd trübsal zu frewden cheren. Doch so pin ich gerecht vnd pin dar vmb vast zeloben, So ich also mit dir tû, ob du es recht vrtailst Vnd in warhait an sichst; So soltest du nymmer von kainerlay widerwärtigkait wegen so ser betrübt werden, Sunder dich des (208v) frewen, Ja halt, das allain schätzen für gewyn, daz ich dir nicht vber sehent pin vnd dich peinig; wann: 'als mich mein hymlicher vater lieb hat gehabt, also han ich euch lieb', sprach ich zu mein jungeren, die ich für wär nicht schicket zu zeitlichen frewden, Sunder zu grosser widerwärtikait vnd trübsal, nit zu eren, Sünder zu verschmähung, nit zu müssigkait, Sunder zu grosser arbeit, nit zu rue, sünder das si prächten vil frucht jn aller gedult. Amen.<sup>1</sup>

### 9. 'Salve Mater Salvatoris.'

§ 12. Inc. 208v **PJs** gegrüst du müter des / pehalters du außerwel (209r) tes vas du vas der ern du vas / der hymlichē genaden etc. . . . Expl. 211v ent / ledig die schuldigen behalt / si vmb sünst vnd mach vns / gleich d' glori dein' chlarha / yt etc.

This is a vernacular version of the hymn of Adam of St. Victor.<sup>2</sup> Prose paraphrases<sup>3</sup> and prose translations<sup>4</sup> of Latin hymns are frequently to be met with in medieval German manuscripts and have, or may have, literary value. What we have here is merely a key<sup>5</sup> for the use of those 'die da vil haben zu singen'

<sup>1</sup> Based on Matt. x, 16 sqq. and I Cor. iv. 9-13.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Chevalier, *Repertorium Hymnologicum*, II, pp. 513-514; Mone, *Hymni latini medii ævi*, II, p. 309; Wackernagel, *Das deutsche Kirchenlied*, I, 125.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Jos. Klapper, *Die Schriften Johannis von Neumarkt* (full title above), pp. 220, 277, 292, 299, etc.

<sup>4</sup> In Cgm. 29 f. 49v-50r ('Übersetzung lat. Hymnen in deutsche Prosa', *Cat. codicum manuscriptorum*, Tomi V, Pars I, ed. altera, Munich, 1920); ms. germ. oct, 558 (Degering, *Kurzes Verzeichnis*, etc., III, 25, 186); Borchling, *Reisebericht I* (Nachr. v. d. königl. Gesellsch. d. Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Geschäftl. Mitteilungen, H. 2 pp. 79-316), pp. 250, 286, III (Nachrichten, etc., phil.-hist. Kl. 1900), pp. 55, 229-230, etc.

<sup>5</sup> The following equivalents will require no comment: stanza 4 *singulare lilium*: der besunder Bilg!; 11 *vapores dulcedinem*] du pist von dir flammē die süssigkait; 13 *Tu es thronus Solomonis / cui nullus par in thronis / arte vel materiā*] Du pist der thron des salomons dem chainer gleich ist vnder allen tron mit chunst noch zuig; line 42 *præsignans mysteria*] du bist vns bedewtten haimligkait; line 43 *Palmam præferens singularem*] Du pist füren ain besunderhait des palms. The translation does not bear the slightest resemblance to the translations of the Mönch von Salzburg (Wackernagel II, 445-447) or of Heinrich von Lauffenberg (*ibid.*, II, 581). Binz (*op. cit.*) p. 26, notes, '2 Hymnen lateinisch, mit deutscher Übersetzung nach Art der Interlinearversionen'.



{see p. 470) but know no Latin. It is perhaps somewhat out of place in the collection, but it is interesting to note that the scribe has expended more red ink on this than on any other item.

10. 'Zwiesprach zwischen Gott und Mensch.'

§ 13. Inc. 211v (Rubric) *Item das Stucklein hab ich auß / dem taller genomen etc. / Ain mensch stünd ains / mals vor vnsers her'n / leichnam. . . .* Expl. 216v *dar jnn / ste ich ledig in ein (sic) / selbs vnd lass dich mit dē / deinē tün was du wild daz / pilleich ist* (Rubric) *Merck das stücklein.*<sup>1</sup>

Professor Spamer published this text from manuscripts of the *Grosser Tauler* (see § 2). It occurs in *St* (f. 285vb-291vb) with the rubric 'von Säuß? (= Suso)', in *M* (246vb-291vb) with the title 'visio intellectualis' and in *m* (88rb-92vb) with the translated title 'Ain verstantliche beschawung'. It is further to be found in ms. germ. quart 1522, f. 11 *sqq.*, and now in abridged form in Rylands = Spamer pp. 125—127, 10 (herze wirt gan Amen) + 136, 7—137, 22 (das ist billich). *MmR* are closely related and have a common source, and do not belong to the same branch as *St*.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Correction signs indicate that *pilleich ist* should read *ist pilleich*. The title 'Zwiesprach, etc.' is taken from Spamer's edition of the piece in *Texte*, etc., pp. 125 *sqq.*

<sup>2</sup> *RMm* have the following readings against *St*: 125, 12 *ist* ÷. 126, 4 *den menschen*] dem *m*. 13 *wider*] gegen. 15 *der mensch sprach*. 24 *ewig* ÷. 127, 4 *diu antwurt ich wil*. 8 *pefilich*. 136, 10 *do*] das, wunder werck. 11 *tut*] tet. 12 *zu eren* ÷. 24 *veraÿnē*. 137, 6 *zu grossen genadē*. 7 see below. 14 *wonde*] wolt. 15 *vnd sprach herr*. 20 *darumbe etc. etc.* whence *St*. cannot be the source of (*Mm*)*R*. Futher *m* has many innovations not shared by *R*: 125, 2 *petet*. 5 *aller* ÷. 12 *gruntlosz*. 13 *creatur*. 126, 8 *wann ir seit alle plint*. 10 *lieb gehabt*. 127, 3 *von mir sagen*. 136, 21 *haimlich tün*. 137, 2 *vnd gebessert* ÷. 17 *und gemacht* ÷ *etc. etc.* Only one reading speaks against *M* as the immediate source of *R*: 125, 3 *mit ganzce ernste St*] mit gantzē ernst *M* mit ganczēm herczen *m* von gantzē hertzē vnd mit ernst *R*. Professor Spamer is convinced that *m* is based on *M*; we must assume that the scribe of *m* has here modified his source (there are numerous innovations above which encourage one to accept this). *R* however, must go back to the common source which had the doubled phrase (reduced in *M* and altered in *m*) for *R* does not add elements. The transmission of one further reading emphasises the close affinity between *MmR*: 137, 7 (*das got*) *nit müg sich in erzeugen St*] in nit müg erzeugen *gnad* (*gnad* is added in the margin; i.e. *sich* was omitted, and *gnad* added to restore sense) *M*; *m* = *M* but without *gnad*; *das got jn nit müg ertzaigē vnd jn d' g* (crossed through) *die mütkait*, etc. *R*. The marginal *gnad* of *M* was not incorporated in *m*, a copy based on *M*. The source of *R* had the marginal *gnad* (witness the

This piece again has, even in the form in which it is transmitted in the *Grosser Tauler* a certain dramatic interest which will have sufficed to recommend it to our scribe: God communes, as in the *Büchlein der ewigen Weisheit* with one of his faithful servants. It has moreover much in common with the items which she has already selected. It is hardly less sentimental in tone than the legends (items 5, 6, 13) and repeats most of the arguments of the *Trostrede* (8) and the sermon *Lectulus*. Whereas these works were obviously the work of nuns or were addressed to nuns, *Zwiesprach* is characterised, in no less degree than the tract *Schwester Katrei*, by its ballast of abstract digression as the work of a man; it was meant for serious and learned readers. Our scribe's abridgment is, none the less, entirely satisfactory, and is even skilfully executed: two long digressions are cut, whereby the almost ludicrous disparity between the simple questions of 'der mensch' and the ponderous answers or revelations which follow is considerably reduced. The final text is a counterpart to the Rylands version of *Schwester Katrei*, and might almost have been considered in conjunction with the legends.<sup>1</sup>

A man<sup>2</sup> prays so earnestly to God when receiving the sacrament, and puts such trust in Christ's mediation that God reveals to him that his sins are forgiven. God communes with him. (a) God reveals that it is within his power to bestow or withhold grace; whatever he may do in the individual case will be for that person's welfare, for God has created man in his own likeness. Men are, however, prone to concentrate on irrelevant things and remain blind to this truth; some must be tempted by outward manifestations,—others tempered by suffering. God prophesies that he (the visionary) will pass through a period of suffering. (b — omitted —) The trials in store are enumerated (long digres-

cancelled g—its position in the line of R indicates that the word thus begun was in the margin of the source). Combining the evidence of these two readings, M and R had a common source, which had the marginal emendation, whence the relationship of MmR and St would be represented by the following scheme: X > Y St; Y > MR; M > m. [Note. R goes against Mm in numerous minor points of syntax, grammar and word order and has occasionally faulty renderings; the most serious instances are 125, 1 *leichnam*; 127, 9 *versmehung* *versaumung*].

<sup>1</sup> The piece is reduced to a quarter of its original length. The scribe has not omitted merely passages which she may perhaps not have been able to follow; she may claim almost to have edited her text—but one will still hesitate to give her the credit for a *conscious* adaptation.

<sup>2</sup> In the German *Ain mensch*. It is possible that the Rylands scribe considered the person to be a woman.

sions on the nature of God, the nobility of the soul). After three days the visionary is reduced to a state of resignation. (c) He has had great difficulty in preparing himself to receive the sacrament: he has examined his conscience over-scrupulously; his trust in God's grace has been deficient. He acknowledges the omniscience and ineffable grace of God. (*d* — omitted —) God predicts the visionaries future spiritual life: he will be as one with God.

### 11. *Fragment of a Mystic Tract on the Sacrament.*

§ 14. Inc. 216v SAnd Bernhart spr-(217r) icht in siberläy ordnung gö / tlich' mynn enphächt der / mensch das ewig wort. . . . Expl. 218v das er sich / . . . / got auff trag in dem / vernünfftigen bechantnüsß / also das er dem fluss der / warhait folg Amen.

The tract from which this passage is taken occurs in the manuscripts of the *Grosser Tauler* (M f. 266ra-268ra; m f. 101rb-102va; St f. 296ra-299vb). The text has not been published. It is reasonable to assume that the scribe used the same copy as for the *Zwiesprach*. It occurs further in the so-called 'postils' of Heinrich von Erfurt and Hartung von Erfurt.<sup>1</sup> The Rylands text is incomplete.<sup>2</sup>

The scribe of Rylands was too ambitious when she undertook to copy this piece. It is a purely abstract mystic interpretation of the sacrament. The opening statement is roughly that there are seven possible degrees of participation; four are stages of active and three of contemplative communion. The argument becomes progressively more obscure and the idiom more esoteric. The scribe stumbles over the first antithetical pair: *würkendes leben* (vita activa) and *schauendes leben* (vita contemplativa). She is totally beyond her depth by the time she reaches the fourth stage; what may the following phrase have conveyed to her?—*in der vierdñ ordnung enpfächt der mensch das ewig wort in ainer üß'geformtē bechantnüsß vernünfftigs vntt'schaidens*—? The rest she omits.<sup>3</sup> The following she may have understood. At the first stage the sacrament banishes sin. At the second it bestows enlightenment: one recognises the limitations of human

<sup>1</sup> This information is derived from Spamer, *Diss.*, pp. 109, 206.

<sup>2</sup> See the *explicit* quoted by Spamer, and the internal evidence, below.

<sup>3</sup> Note that the complete tract takes up approximately nine folio half-page columns in the manuscripts of the *Grosser Tauler*. The section which has been transferred to the *Blume der Schauung* (a tract printed in Preger, *Geschichte der deutschen Mystik*, II, 426 sqq.) is not to be found in the Rylands text.



contacts and shuns them. At the third it gives one the strength to do God's will in the face of criticism and opposition. She understood further that the fourth was a dangerous transitional stage.

## 12. *A Mystic Letter on the Sacrament.*

§ 15. This item was not identifiable: its contents must therefore be examined in greater detail.<sup>1</sup> Though lacking in literary merit the document is extremely interesting and instructive. It is a pseudo-mystic, even bogus mystic work. The writer is consciously or unconsciously a realist—a partisan of formal orthodox religious practice who exploits the idiom and ideas of mystic writers in order to provoke greater enthusiasm in the observance of his readers. Mystic religious experience, on which the ideas are crude, is to him but an apt prelude to communion, and may be provoked by suggestion and induced by the repetition of suitable formulæ. The work consists of a tripartite letter on the sacrament. The first section outlines the preparation required of those who are at the first, second and third stages of enlightenment. The statement is ordered and coherent and may well be based on the work of another. The first Rylands scribe has copied it, possibly without committing a single error. The second and third sections, copied by the second scribe are extremely uneven, disjointed and full of repetitions; for the plan or lack of plan the writer is himself responsible. Certain more freely flowing passages (reproduced below) are possibly free elaborations of sources. The style is ludicrously extravagant and the writer's taste execrable: 'the bread of the holy wafer was kneaded in the belly of the Virgin Mary by God the Holy Ghost and baked by the fire of heavenly love!' <sup>2</sup> There is something blatantly negroid in his exploitation of suggestion, and sensationalism.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 482, note 2. The analysis gives incipit, explicit and a number of excerpts with connecting texts. From the data given it should be possible to determine the degree in which the author has pillaged the works of other writers, and examine the justice of my criticism of the piece.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 491.

# I. HOW ONE SHOULD PREPARE TO RECEIVE THE SACRAMENT. (Scribe 1.)

Inc. 219r (Rubric) *Von dreyerlay menschen / schickung zu dem heiligen / Sacrament etc.* . . . Den erst an hebendē men / schē die sich newlich zu / got chert habē zu gehört / das si sein jn warer püss / vnd dar jnn beha'rn. Those who are at the first stage of mystic enlightenment should be truly penitent and hunger and thirst to receive the sacrament and 'sich gancz nid'werffen vñ / vernichtn̄ durch ware die / mütikait' (219v). 'dise obgeschr / ibne vnd der geleich' are addressed to all. Christ's Passion should be at the centre of all contemplations.

Those who are at the second stage (Rubric: *die zu nementen* 220r) must go further; their whole 'leben vnd wūrken' should be preparation. Let them banish 'all natürlich begird / vnd naygung all vngeor / dent gelüst vnd lieb' (220v) and discipline their emotions. 'Si sullen sich emssigkl / ichen vben in tugenden Jn / hailsamen betrachtungen / zu grosser vorcht zu tieff' / Diemütikait zu prýnnend' / lieb zu hiczigen pegirden göt / lich' vnd hýmlischer Jtm̄ si / sullen sich einsencken mit / voll' andacht jn die wundē / Jhū durch herzenlich mitley / dung' (221r). The sacrament was instituted in memory of his Passion which one should contemplate; one should use all means, prayer, fasting and the reading of the scriptures in preparation for it. 'Hie werdē / gestrafft vil menschen / die vil v̄bung haben vnd / sich vast peinigen mit va / stñ petñ wachē vnd and' / leiplich kestigung auch vil / entpfindlich andacht vnd / Sentimet haben' (22r-22v).<sup>1</sup> At this stage (which you have reached, or should have reached) one should pay particular attention to one's thoughts and conscience. 'Jtm̄ das pettlein jrer gewi / ssen sol wol verziert sein mit / schönen plūmen heilig' tugent / Also das ain yeglicher solich' / tröstlich gesprechn̄ müg ch / um her mein aller liebste' / vnser pettlein ist vol plue / men für war Jhesus ist / ain schone feld pluem weis / vnd rot ausser welt vnd' / tausentn̄ vnd er ist lustig / zewonē vnd' den plūmē / vnd lilien dar jnn er lustli / ch gewaydnet wirt Das / ist jn lauttern gedencken (224r) Jn heiligen vnd andächtigē / pegirden etc.<sup>2</sup>

Jtm̄ si sullē auch geziert sein / mit dem hochzeitlichē vnd / künigklichē klaid dardurch / sy zu des groß mächtigen / künigs tisch vnd hoffättel (= hoftaffel) / wol geschickt werden vnd / dem künig wolgeuallē auch / süllen vnd müssen si all chū / nig od' künigin sein die zu / disem tisch zu gen dicz künig / klich klaid hat xvj falten / Davon pauls schreibt.

(Rubric) *Von den volkomen.* Nun die volkomen mensche / die dann aus ungestümer / flammend' pegird vnd aus (224v) Nöttend' geschwind' lieb jres / liebste gesponsen abwesen / nicht erleiden mügē wann / sy jm volkomēlich geainiget / sind vnd mügen in nicht be / schauen noch niessen jn klar / hait seiner glori darumb zu / trostung vnd auf haltung / jres lebens wellent si tagle / ich seiner

<sup>1</sup> This is the writer's own comment of what he himself has written, but the phrase itself is borrowed. It is repeated 254r.

<sup>2</sup> An adaptation of the opening passage of Suso's *Lectulus*?

gegen würtikait / nÿessen jn maß vnd weis / Als jn mÿglich ist si girliczēt / glangend vnd pegerēt stā / ttiklich zum kuß seines mu / nds vnd wellent enpfintlich / kosten vnd jnnē werden wie / gar süß vnd wunnsam er / sej etc. Jtm̄ söllichē menschē / zu gehört das jr gancz ge- (225r) müt cristo Jhū durch genad / vnd lieb vollkommenlich ein ge / leibt sej vnd jn den geistlichē / leib Cristj ein geformet auch / gancz geformig sej". A person at this stage is frequently to be seen in a state of trance,—'vnsinnigkait Vnd auch vergessen / hait sein selbs Vnd aller creatur' (227r) 'Dicz seÿ dir geschribn̄ / kurtzleich Vnd vngenugsā- / leich vō vor schickung ze en / pfachen das frödenreich sacra / ment nach ausweysung dreÿ / erlay wesen der menschn̄ / Vnd wie ain yglicher mēsch / jn seinē stand oder wesen / sol geschickt Vnd berait sein.'

## II. (CONTINUATION OF I: FREQUENT COMMUNION). Scribe 2.

Inc. 227r (Rubric) *Gemaine ler.* / Merck fur paß ain gemaine / ler Dier vnd allen menschn̄ / zebehalten Vnd uber die / dan̄ oft das mynreich sacra / ment wegeñ fruchtpäreich / ze enpfachen.

You and other people who wish to communicate frequently should follow the example of Christ and each day consider his sufferings and bitter death, 'da uō / ich anderhalb vil geschribn̄ / han etc.' Not only should you not sin, but should possess seven virtues: 'das ist jn drein gotleichn̄ vnd in vier angel-tugenden (geÿbt sein)' 227v. The first godly virtue is faith: (Rubric) *Von dem glaubn̄* (The articles of faith, 'xiiii artickel sibn̄ vō der gott / hait Vnd sibn̄ vō der mensch / hait cristi' and the creed are cursorily paraphrased,—the references to Christ's passion in the latter are amplified in spite of the statement 'von dem hie nicht stat noch (229r) zeÿtt ist zeschreibn̄'; reference to the Trinity is followed by the lines 'O wunder groß O lieb / ste lieb O licht Vnd leben / O süß Vnd gutt O wuñ vn̄ / fred O gott mein gott etc.<sup>1</sup> Mary and all the saints, and 'auch all ausser welt gottz frewnt auff / erd Vnd im fegfewer' participate in the sacrament. 'Jch / treib vil wort Vnd ist doch / vil zewenig / (4 lines) / es ist alles plind Vñ eittel / was ich geschribn̄ mag die / warhait offenbart sich selbs (231r) ob du mit fleiß suechn̄ Vnd dich / behutten pist etc.' (Rubric) *Von der hoffnung* etc. Place your trust in Christ and hope that the benefits of the sacrament may accrue to you: 'ablass vnd v'gebung (231v) dein' sundt'; this is followed by a long list of benefits (punctuated by *Item, Item*) which cannot be adequately described, 'aber aus / disen ob geschribn̄ vermanügñ / durch glaubn̄ Vn hoffnüg / solt dw pilleich bewegt Vñ / geraitzet werdñ ditz hoch / wirdig sacramēt off begier- / leich ze empfachen (233r). (Rubric) *Von der lieb, etc.*<sup>2</sup> . . . 'O susste vollustige

<sup>1</sup> Such rhapsodic asides are frequent in this piece, and are meant to provoke enthusiasm. They are possibly first lines of hymns? After reference to Mary, 'O gott wer kan oder mag etc.'

<sup>2</sup> This passage is quoted almost in its entirety as it shows the strength and weakness of the writer's work. It is probably modelled on some source, but undoubtedly contains phrases of the writer's own coining.



Vnd / wūsāme lieb fur war jn alln̄ / gottes wercken gnadn̄ gaben / Vnd erpar-  
 mungen erscheinet / vns nicht so vber mässig wū- / reich Vnd vber wunderleich /  
 lieb gottes sam jn disem lieb / sten Vnd wirdigsten sacramēt. (234r) da ist ain  
 prinnender kalch offen / gottleich' lieb' . . . 'da ist der uberfliessend vn /  
 ersigleich prūn gottleich' / süs prinnender liebe an (2 ×) / auffhören stättigleich  
 Vn / miltigleich quallen Vn flies / sen dar aus all andächtig gaist / saugen schöpfen  
 Vnd genug / samleich trincken Auch jn lieb / Vnd vō lieb oft voltrunckn̄ / Vnd  
 s̄ynlos werd̄n, (in receiving which gift worthily one) jn gott ganz v'senckt / Vnd  
 v'schlickt auch gantzleich / vergöttet wert. O gott mein / gott was ist das pin  
 ich vil / leicht s̄ynlos wordn̄ oder tru / ncken O gott dw erkennest v- / gib mirs  
 es ist hewt sūntag (236v) <sup>1</sup> O lieb Vnd liebste lieb / Wer mag sich verpergen vor /  
 deiner hitze O hercz herttes / hertz Vnd hertt' deñ / adamant das da jn ansech /  
 ung diser hitzigisten hailig / isten lieb nicht gantz verfle- / usset noch zerschmil-  
 tzet dw / pist tod̄t Wañ du hast jn dir / chain empfindung des lebēs / Oder sag  
 mir wie hast du / vnerhitzt beleibn̄ vor disen / grōß gluendn̄ pach offen Da /  
 hatt gott zesament gehauft- / ent Vnd jn ain' beschliess- / üg ain sūm gemachtet  
 aller (137r) sein' volkömenhait Vnd aller / sein' wunder werck die er / von an  
 fanck piß her gewu- / rcket hatt auch ewigleich / wurcken wirtt Auch ist da /  
 ain sūm Vnd beschliessung / aller tugent aller gnaden / aller gab Vnd aller  
 gaistle- / ich' andacht frucht Vnd salig / kaitt̄n etc. Zu diser all' besli / essung  
 jn disem liebsten / sacrament dar jn volköne / Vnd hochste lieb webeÿset / ist  
 Vnd dar jn der mensch / alle gütt' Vnd uolkömenhait / enfachn̄ Vnd besitzn̄  
 mag (237v) hatt er am creutz ze ende gesp / rochn̄ Cōsumatū est O mein / kind  
 dise alle obgeschribne grōß / leich Vnd kurzleich solt dw / mit fleiß kewn̄ Vnd  
 ein tru- / ck̄n Vnd behalt̄n', for one cannot better fulfil the 'gepot vō der lieb'  
 than in receiving the sacrament, and in being every day prepared to receive it.  
 (239v he asks: 'O was sol ich saḡn mer dar / durch die lieb jn dir furpas / mer  
 ein geflāmet̄t werde' and reverts to the gift of the sacrament.) What mother has  
 so loved her child as Christ loves his faithful?—(Further list of the blessings of  
 the sacrament 'der da hin n̄ympt Vnd uertreibt (241r) all dein kranckhait. . . .  
 Vnd dich behalt jn allem / gutt'). Consider moreover the holy wafer: 'Merck  
 dicz himelprot / ist geknett̄n vō gott dem / hailiḡn gaist im pauch der / junck-  
 frauñ marie gepachn̄ / im gluendn̄ pachoffen vber / tröffender lieb am hailiḡn  
 (241r, word missing?) dar v̄m das er vns lustig wurd / ze essen.' (Passage on  
 the Trinity.) 244r 'Aus allen ob geschriben grōß / leich Vnd kurzleich merckest  
 (244v) du eigenleich Wie groß dein / schickung Vnd beraitt̄g sein / sol. . . .  
 Sprich aus / vollem hertz̄n Vnd mit gantz̄m / gemutt *vere tu es deus meus / et ecce  
 totus tuus* O gott / dw pist warleich mein gott / Vnd n̄ym war ich pin gantz /  
 dein ich glaub ich hoff ich / lieb ich kañ nicht mer etc., 244v. (The four angelic  
 virtues, *fursichtigkait, mässigkait, sterck, gerechtighait* are treated very summarily.  
 The foregoing is again briefly summarised). There are many kinds of prayers  
 which may help one 'aber vil / wortt jn gepett lob ich nicht / wañ ain kurz  
 gemutleiche ge / pett durch tringt all himel' (247v).

<sup>1</sup> This seems to me to be pure sensationalism.

## III. DEVOTIONS AFTER COMMUNION.

248r (Rubric) *Wie mā sich haln sol nach d' / enpfachung dz sacramentz.*  
 'Nach empfachung des hailigē / sacrament solt dw beharren jn / stätter danck-  
 perkait' lest its benefits be lost: 'da mit / du das sacrament an sein' wu / rckung  
 Vnd fruchtperkait / jn dir nicht jrrest'. You must then do as you think best,  
 'Wan jnn soleichem mag ich / dir kain gesatz machn'. You should continue  
 to shun worldly contacts: 'Vnd solt jn / deinem hertzē Also sprechenn / ich  
 beraub Vnd enplöß mich / gentzleich aller jrdischait Vn / wid' spricht auch  
 gantz allen (249v) aussern dingē die dan jm zeitt / geliebt od' begert mugē wer /  
 den Wan mein lieb ihus ist / vber all reichumb Vnd wir / digkeit Vnd er [ist] vb'  
 all frewndt / schafft tröstüg Vnd wollust.'<sup>1</sup> The rest is a further list of  
 the blessings of the sacrament punctuated alternately by would-be rhapsodic  
 outbursts and 'secondly,' 'thirdly': 'O lieb vor der / sich niemāt v'pergē  
 mag O (250v) gutthait die kain poshait ge / schwechē mag O klarheit /  
 Vnd schonhait die nyemāt / erschätzē mag Vnd dar ab / sich sūn vnd mon  
 verwun / dern'. . . 'Das dritt ist', etc. 'dw pist vber alle / sichtleiche hör-  
 leiche köstenleich / berurleiche schmachkleiche / sūnleiche bewegleiche pildlei /  
 che v'stentleiche etc.'<sup>2</sup> . . . (list continued). The writer still feels that he  
 can criticise people who practice 'vil leiplich vbüg in vastē / petten wachē seuffzē  
 wainē / Vnd and' vil sentimenten Vn / empfindleicher andacht' (254r) Expl. 255r  
 halt / dich meiner geschriff vō an / fanck piss her so pist dw ge / sichertt  
 allnthalbē etc.

<sup>1</sup> It is instructive to note that the most fundamental of all mystic experiences is here reduced to a mere formula.

<sup>2</sup> These are probably gleanings from mystic writers. The perfunctory etc. shows that these extravagant phrases were introduced only to produce a desired emotional reaction in the reader.

## THE *IMITATIO CHRISTI*.<sup>1</sup>

BY E. F. JACOB, M.A., D.Phil.

PROFESSOR OF MEDIEVAL HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER.

IN his *Aids to Reflection*, Samuel Taylor Coleridge sought to point the contrast between what he calls "the discipline of the Ancient Philosophers" and "the Dispensation of the Gospel". It was the aim of philosophy to purify and elevate the character "by undeceiving, enlarging and reforming the intellect"; hence its main appeal was, naturally, to intellectuals. Christianity reversed the order. "Her first step was to cleanse the heart." Then a characteristic passage:

In preventing the rank vapours that steam up from the corrupt heart, Christianity restores the intellect likewise to its natural clearness. By relieving the mind from the distractions and importunities of the unruly passions, she improves the quality of the understanding: while at the same time she presents for its contemplations objects so great and so bright as cannot but enlarge the organ by which they are contemplated.

This passage, with a slightly different idiom, might have come from Gregory the Great, St. Bernard or St. Bonaventura. There is one very similar to it in Walter Hilton's *Scale of Perfection*. It is the keynote of much of the devotional writing of the fifteenth century.

It has been pointed out that the early Protestant reformers assumed that in the fifteenth century true devotion was found only among a few persecuted disciples of John Wiclif; and that "this misrepresentation of the century of the *Imitatio Christi* has persisted and obscured the whole history of English prose". These are the words of a distinguished scholar, struck by the realisation that in personal religion England was no exception

<sup>1</sup> An elaboration of the lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on Wednesday, 9th of March, 1938.



to the general tendency of the time : I refer to the appreciation accorded to works of private meditation and devotion, wherein the skilled confessor or (it might be) recluse opened his mind to the pious reader. Such books were now, in the early fifteenth century, beginning to be read by the merchant and trader as well as by the clergy and nobility. The Lollard treatises that circulated in London and were the object of inquiry by the City authorities were the unorthodox wing of a large body of devotional matter in circulation, beginning with the more usual service books, grayls, breviaries and primers. The grocer, William Chichele, when he made his will in 1426 left his bible to his son John, his primer to his daughter Florence with remainder to her son, Thomas Darell (son of the Kent M.P.), and his psalter on the choir of Higham Ferrers ; "also I be quethe X li to be bestowyd on bokes notable to be layde in the new librarye at the Gildehall at London for to be memoriall for John Hadle sumtyme meyre and for me there while they mowe laste".<sup>1</sup> And if it is urged that we might expect such a thing from an Archbishop's brother, there are numerous instances, from the later fourteenth century onwards, of London tradesmen bequeathing books to relations and friends.<sup>2</sup> It was for people such as these as well as for devout ladies of his acquaintance that Hilton did his translations, and Gerson composed the treatises frequently found in early incunabula. Throughout this devotional work runs the idea of individual perfection, to be sought by daily spiritual exercise.

The literature of such exercise is either mystical and symbolical, as with Ruysbroek's writings, *The Revelations* of St. Bridget or the *De Visione Dei* of Cusanus ; or it may consist of straightforward exhortation to virtue, direct precepts and aphorisms that borrow freely from the Fathers, the Victorines and St. Bernard. It is, in this latter aspect almost a literature of anthology and reminiscence, so permeated is it with the spirit and with the very words of the classical Christian moralists. In all cases it is the inner life to which these works minister,

<sup>1</sup> *Reg. Chichele*, ii. 340.

<sup>2</sup> Sharpe, *Calendar of Wills proved in the Court of Hustings*, ii. 272, 312, 322, 329, 371, 469, 521, etc.

the life maintained by the law of the Gospel which John Pupper of Goch contrasted with the law of the Church. Not that practical works of charity are belittled. The admiration of Thomas of Kempe for Gerard Groote, founder of the Brethren of the Common Life, was not the admiration of one learned contemplative for another, but the veneration of a humble and pious man for a leading preacher and teacher : a leader always in the public view. Yet it is Groote's inner life that Thomas specially singles out for praise ; and the portrait he draws of him is worth dwelling upon :

When he entered a Church, he did not stand up to gaze upon the painted windows in the walls overhead, but bent the knee with humility before God, and prostrated himself in prayer ; and he would hold no converse there, but delighted only to hear the praises of God, or to read the Hours, for he avoided every idle word in the Temple of the Almighty. Lest his devotion might be disturbed by the concourse of man, or his secret converse with God be observed by bystanders, he secured a secluded and private place among the friars minor ; and there alone and in secret he lay prostrate in prayer, gazing upon and adoring the Holy Sacrament of the altar.

This indifference to external beauty can be seen in Groote's attitude towards books and learning :

He was earnest in reading the Scriptures, but was not careful to possess books beautifully adorned ; the breviary from which he read his Hours was of no great value, since he avoided using anything that was outwardly splendid or that savoured not of simplicity ; so when he saw one who had a book sumptuously ornamented and noted how carefully the owner looked to it and turned the leaves, he said to him : " I had rather that a book were my servant, than be servant to a book ; books should serve the interests of their reader's mind, not the nice taste of him who doth look at them." For this reason the devout master gave more attention to the matter of a book than to the outward beauty of an embellished copy ; so too, the blessed Jerome preferred to have a well corrected text, though the form of the book might be of small value, than a beautifully ornamented but incorrect copy.<sup>1</sup>

And here are some of Groote's resolutions and intentions :

Do not spend thy time in the study of geometry, arithmetic, rhetoric, dialectic, grammar, songs, poetry, legal matters or astrology ; for all these things are reproved by Seneca, and a good man should withdraw his mind's eye therefrom and despise them ; how much more, therefore, should they be eschewed by a spiritually-minded man and a Christian.

<sup>1</sup> Tr. J. P. Arthur, *The Founders of the New Devotion*, p. 32.

I resolve never to take a degree in medicine, because I do not purpose to get any gain or preferment by such a degree ; and the same resolve doth hold for Civil and Canon Law ; for the purpose of a degree is either gain or preferment, or vain glorification and worldly honour, which latter things if they lead not to the former are simply useless, empty and most foolish, being contrary to godliness and all freedom and purity. I resolve not to study any art nor to write any book, nor to undertake any journey nor any labour, nor to pursue any science with the purpose of extending mine own fame or repute for knowledge.<sup>1</sup>

Groote even advised the avoidance of public disputations “ which are but wranglings for success in argument, or the appearance thereof (such as the disputations of graduates in theology and arts at Paris) ”. He called them “ superstitions, sensual, devilish or earthly.” It is not therefore surprising to hear him affirm that the common life of a university is carnal, and “ for them that savour carnal things ”. And some will sympathise with his complaint that to get a degree “ one must be present at many vain lectures ”.

These passages fairly express the spirit of the *devotio moderna*. In some respects it is very conservative. The Librarian of the house of the Brethren at Deventer in 1450 was shocked that “ sermons or similar intellectual works ” should be read instead of the *Profectus religiosorum* (by David of Augsburg) or the *Horologium eterne sapientie* (Suso) or the Revelations of St. Bernard. He cannot think, he says, what will become of the house if these well-tried classics are neglected : there was, to him, something pretentious about the “ clever ” sermon. The art of simple, perspicuous language was possessed in supreme measure by the Brethren of the Common Life. None the less, the movement was not a “ literary ” movement : in its inception it was not even educational : it was concerned with the same objects and ideals as had inspired the early Franciscans : the service of mankind, especially the poor and weak ; and the imitation of Christ. Like the Franciscan, it was originally a lay movement, that began with a group of men who established dormitories or hostels for students. That was their way of helping the indigent, whom, when young and impressionable, they trained in the Franciscan virtues.

<sup>1</sup> Tr. J. P. Arthur, *The Founders of the New Devotion*, p. 57.



We know how they gave their instruction, when in the generation after Gerard Groote, they began to teach their young boarders, and finally to become educationists themselves. John Cele, lecturing at Zwolle, would adopt the device of the *rapiarium* or collection of excerpts (later also called *farrago*), which every pupil had to make. From the Gospel Cele would select the simplest and most helpful sayings. These he dictated in a loud voice to the whole school. "For," says John Busch, his pupil and a companion of Cusanus on his legation in Germany, "he wanted his boys to have the leading events and the most striking passages found in the Epistles and Gospels collected in one copy-book": a theological garner, in which the most useful thoughts found in the sacred writings might be gathered together in brief extracts. By such means they could be most easily memorized.

Though not written for children at school, the *Imitatio Christi*<sup>1</sup> is such a copy-book. It is an anthology of the inner life yet not an anthology in the formal sense of the word: passages from famous authors are not simply pasted in; everything has first passed through the crucible of a single disciplined mind, and has been assimilated and integrated there. In its assertion of the absolute priority of conscience and of the absolute freedom of the human spirit that is to be achieved through humility and self-sacrifice and endurance the *Imitatio* is a fundamental work of asceticism; it is the idiom and method, perfectly adjusted to the contents, that suggest the environment from which it sprang. The keynote is struck from the beginning: absolute desertion of self, spiritual as well (we may add) as literary anonymity:

A man ought therefore to mount over all creatures and perfectly to go out of himself and to stand in a sort of ecstasy of mind, and so see that Thou, the Creator of all things, hast nothing among creatures like unto Thyself. Unless also a man be disengaged from all creatures, he cannot with freedom of the mind attend unto divine things.

Logically, then, the *Imitatio* will begin with the advice to the follower of Christ to strip himself of the unessentials, so that he may be left with nothing but knowledge of his own soul and of God. *Deum et animam scire cupio. Nihilne plus? Nihil omnino.*

<sup>1</sup> The actual title is *Admonitiones ad spiritualem vitam utiles. De imitatione Christi et contemptu omnium vanitatum mundi.*

This Augustinian concentration is best practised in the condition of subjection to a superior. Obedience is therefore the second pre-requisite for discipleship ; and along with obedience there must be intellectual humility :

What will it avail thee to dispute profoundly of the Trinity, if thou be void of humility, and art thereby displeasing to the Trinity ?

Truly at the day of judgment we shall not be examined on what we have read, but on what we have done. Tell me now, where are all those doctors and masters with whom thou wast well acquainted whilst they lived and flourished in learning ? Now others possess their livings, and perhaps scarcely ever think of them.

And the converse :

He is truly great that is great in charity ;

or,

It is no prejudice unto thee to debase thyself under all men ; but it is very prejudicial to thee to prefer thyself before any one man.

But the humble spirit must exercise discretion. It is not expedient to confide in all and sundry : " but treat of thy affairs with the wise and such as fear God. Converse not much with young people and strangers." The rich are to be avoided : " do not appear willingly before great personages ". Intellectual snobbery must also be shunned. " Search not who spoke this or that, but mark what is spoken." Great stress is laid on the need for solitude and silence :

The more thou visitest thy chamber, the more wilt thou like it : the less thou comest thereto, the more thou wilt loath it. If in the beginning of thy conversion thou art content to remain in it and keep to it well, it will afterwards be to thee a dear friend and a most pleasant comfort.

It is commendable in a religious seldom to go abroad, to be unwilling to see or be seen.

In such an atmosphere, *compunctio cordis*, the most characteristic virtue praised in the *Imitatio*, can be practised. The words imply a mixture of sensitiveness and intelligence. It is this quality that keeps the believer open to good impressions, and " ready to take and bear all well that is enjoined upon him ". Keen and ardent, he is disciplined to listen, and to bear periods of dryness and lack of inspiration. The author says that we

are often at our best when we feel moments of frustration and hopelessness. "Often a man is more deserving when he is in a smaller fervour than in a greater."

With a heart thus ready to listen to the truth speaking inwardly—without noise of words, the author says—the *Imitatio* proceeds to lay down the manner of the inward life. First comes gratitude and love towards the source of all comfort and affection. This is the first necessity of internal freedom :

He that loveth, flyeth, runneth and rejoiceth. He is free and cannot be held in.

But this should not lead to exuberant boasting of one's own happy state. "My son, it is more profitable for thee, and safer, to conceal the grace of thy devotion." The believer is asked to remember, when he is in grace, how miserable and needy he was without it ; progress in the spiritual life is made when a man bears with patience the withdrawal of grace : as Matthew Arnold put it in his poem *Morality* :

We cannot kindle when we will  
The fire that in the heart resides,  
The Spirit bloweth and is still,  
In mystery our soul abides :  
But tasks in hours of insight will'd  
Can be through hours of gloom fulfill'd.

And when this happens, the struggler is to remember that the light may return again. But patience is difficult to acquire ; it is unwise to lean too much on any preconceived desire, without asking for the power to discriminate ; for not every affection which seems good is immediately to be followed. "It is sometimes expedient to use restraint even in good desires and endeavours lest by importunity thou incur distraction of mind." Thus the second book of the *Imitatio* is the book of patience and endurance. The truly patient man minds not by whom he is exercised, whether by his superiors, or by one of his equals, or by an inferior. And then, turning to the relief that is within the reach of all the patient, the writer asks the believer "to rest in God above all things which are good and above all his own gifts". There is nothing harder to learn, and the reader of this



passage will remember some lines of George Herbert, when the poet depicts the Creator withholding rest from the creature :

When God at first made man,  
Having a glass of blessings standing by ;  
Let us (said he) pour on him all we can :  
Let the world's riches, which dispersèd lie,  
Contract into a span.

So strength first made a way  
Then beauty flowed, then wisdom, honour, pleasure :  
When almost all was out, God made a stay  
Perceiving that alone, of all his treasure,  
Rest in the bottom lay.

For if I should (said he)  
Bestow this jewel also on my creature,  
He would adore my gifts instead of me,  
And rest in Nature, not the God of Nature :  
So both should losers be.

The peace and quiet so attained is won by triumph over ourselves ; for only thus can the grace of God dwell in the believer :

My son, My grace is precious ; it alloweth not itself to be mingled with external things, nor with earthly consolations.

Grace is totally different to nature, and the contrast must be understood. Nature is "crafty and seduceth many". Strongly Augustinian in thought and coloured by the doctrine of original sin is the chapter (III, liv) when they are compared : one or two phrases may be quoted :

Nature manages everything for her own gain and profit : she cannot bear to do anything *gratis*, but for every kindness she hopes to obtain either what is equal, or what is better, or at least praise or favour ; and is very desirous to have her works and gifts much valued :

But grace seeketh no temporal thing, nor desireth any other reward than God alone, nor asketh more of temporal necessities, than what may serve her for the obtaining of things eternal.

Augustinian too is the definition of Grace as "a supernatural light and a certain special gift of God, and the proper mark of the elect, and pledge of everlasting salvation". This is naturally followed by a disquisition on the corruption of nature, and the

efficacy of divine grace. But soon the author returns from these theological antinomies to the true path of the *imitatio*—denial of self, determination to fight and conquer depression, avoidance of vain curiosity and the placing of hope and trust in God alone. In the last book, on the Eucharist, where the writing is more lyrical, the need for diligent preparation for receiving the Sacrament is especially emphasised : this part of the *Imitatio* belongs in spirit to St. Bernard's treatise on the Song of Songs, to the class of intimate and poetical Christian allegory, of which the Librarian at Deventer was speaking.

There may still be some who will recollect being presented, in their youth, with small books of devotion containing striking thoughts and prayers to which the exact authorship was not always ascribed. That this custom of anonymity in such works is no new thing can be seen from almost any list of early incunabula, where with hardly any attribution pious treatises and meditations follow one another in the same volume. A congerie, of treatises, mostly anonymous, under one cover is a familiar problem to all medievalists. There is only the *incipit* to go upon, and Dr. Little's *Initia* are not always to hand. Now set this habit of making a collection or anthology of treatises side by side with the temperament and teaching of the fifteenth century *devotio*. Groote will not attempt to write a book, if it is to bring him fame or reputation ; the true imitator of Christ, who is counselling others to strip themselves of earthly ambition, is not likely to place his own autograph, even cryptically, on the heading or the colophon. He will not even call himself *scriptor*, whether that most ambiguous word denotes author or copyist. It is his friends and compatriots, or, if he is a religious, his fellow-conventuals, who will make the claim for him after his death ; sometimes indeed while he is still alive.

Now is it not of the essence of the *Imitatio* that it should be anonymous, or if not anonymous, that the author's name should not be stated with any prominence ? The immense literature that surrounds the treatise is largely the result of this anonymity. A formidable controversy has raged over the writer. In his most interesting little book arguing against the normally accepted view of the authorship, Dr. Douglas Barron has pointed out the

main facts of this long dispute.<sup>1</sup> It was not until the death of Thomas Hemerken, sub-prior of the Brotherhouse at Agnetenberg near Zwolle, that serious discussion about the authorship of the *Imitation* arose. We know from his opponents that before his decease the work was being ascribed to Gerson, though others, like St. Bernard himself, were named; we know too from Dr. Fromm's researches that as late as 1434 the authorship was unrevealed.<sup>2</sup> The movement in favour of Thomas being the author originated in the Low Countries, but evidently independently of Agnetenberg; for the earliest printed edition of the work, which was issued from the prior of Ginther Zainer of Augsburg, did not follow the early version known as the à Kempis autograph which the Agnetenberg brothers had in their possession. Dr. Barron then shows how the interests of the religious orders and local patriotism combined to divide the scholars of Europe on the issue, and to obscure the real authorship of Gerson.

Putting aside the attribution of the *Imitatio* to the fictitious figures of Abbot John Gersen and Abbot John of Vercelli, or Cajetan's singular conflation of the two, "John Gersen of Canabaco, Benedictine abbot of Vercelli"—one is here reminded of "Matthew of Westminster," supposed author of the *Flores Historiarum*—we are left to decide whether the authorship lies with the chancellor of Paris or to the Brother of Agnetenberg. That has all along been the main problem, and it is not a purely academic one. Are we to see in the treatise the work of Netherlandish piety, the fine flower of the movement begun by Groote at Deventer, or to group it with Gerson's writings on the inner life or in favour of reform among the clergy? The difference is so great that it is almost like asking whether a picture is a Roger van der Weyden or a Fouquet. I have already hinted my inclination to agree with Paul Mestwerdt<sup>3</sup> and Dr. Hyma<sup>4</sup> that the *Imitatio* must be related to the circles in which Erasmus

<sup>1</sup> Jean Charliet de Gerson, the author of the *DE IMITATIO CHRISTI*, Edinburgh, 1936, pp. 6 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, x. 54 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Die Anfänge des Erasmus* (Leipzig, 1917), pp. 85 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *The Youth of Erasmus*, ch. 1, 2.



received his early education ; and while it is possible to understand the anonymity which a Netherlandish brother might desire, it is harder to appreciate the argument advanced for the anonymity of Gerson : which is, that the ultramontanes after the Council of Constance suppressed all mention of him as the composer of the treatise because they were bitterly opposed to his influence and ascendancy in the direction of reform in the church : Dr. Barron writes :

One must study the entire history of the Gallican Controversy as it took shape subsequent to the two great Councils of Pisa and Constance to realise how imperative it must have seemed to certain minds to strike at anything which was calculated to perpetuate Gerson's name and influence. Serious developments had taken place which they who sought to counter them could not fail to trace to his initiative. While living he had swayed, if only for a time, the destinies of Europe, had been the soul of mighty councils, and the terror of contumacious Popes. Could they submit to see him live afresh in the possession of a work so universally esteemed and valued ? <sup>1</sup>

The " soul of mighty Councils " ? Gerson was not present at Pisa. It was his advocacy that helped to influence the French Church as a whole to accept the invitation of the Cardinals and bring the Council into being : he was therefore of importance in the preliminaries of Pisa, though he had long hesitated to accept the Conciliar solution ; but at Constance, when he was present, his influence was only of serious significance in the Council during the events that followed the flight of John XXIII to Schaffhausen. He destroyed his position by his determination to secure the condemnation of Jean Petit's advocacy of tyrannicide, and by his insistence, in season and out of season, on the prosecution of the case. His influence at the Council was largely eclipsed by 1417. It would be interesting to hear a little more about the " ultramontanes " whom Dr. Barron suspects of these sinister designs. Who were they ? The fact is that Dr. Barron's hypothesis is a misreading of Conciliar history ; for it was the Gallicans themselves who, after the Treaty of Canterbury had become known in the Council, took the side of the Italian ultramontanes against the English and the German nations ; otherwise reform of abuses in the Church might have

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 96.

been fully and exhaustively discussed in the Council and decisions on it have been reached before the new Pope Martin V was elected.

Dr. Barron has drawn a vivid contrast between the scholarly and experienced Chancellor who knew the world and its ways and was deeply concerned to reform abuses in the Church with the "dwarfed and narrow, if at the same time, earnest and well-meaning life of Thomas à Kempis, passed in an atmosphere of self-effacement and meticulous observance of conventual routine". How, he asks, could such a conventual speak "out of the tears and passion of a spiritual experience such as only comes to those who have fought and suffered"? How could the "harmless recluse" have composed a work "whose profound acquaintance with the human heart, in all its strivings after inward peace and perfecting, should have become the wonder and the admiration of the world"?<sup>1</sup>

Bede was such a "harmless recluse," and yet, never moving from Jarrow, he composed works one of which in particular has excited the admiration of the world, partly because it shows deep understanding of the minds of his contemporaries. Yet is not this criticism of Thomas more radically mistaken in its view of the religious life? The "tears and passion of a spiritual experience" are not to be found outside the convent only. The cloistered also fight and suffer, as St. Bernard constantly reminded his readers. But let us leave opinions and probabilities and come to questions of language and manuscript attribution. It is doubtful, to say the least, that the latinity of the *Imitatio* is nearer to that of the treatises of Gerson than to the language of the indubitable works of Thomas of Kempen published by Dr. Pohl in the standard edition. There is no need, in my opinion, to adopt the view of Hirsche that Thomas followed Groote in adopting rhythmical periods and made of it a complete and studied system: that the unique style, the *Musica ecclesiastica* can be detected in all the Thomas treatises. This theory was based on a view of medieval punctuation which would now find little acceptance with modern palaeographers as a whole. The facts, broadly speaking, are that by the middle of the fifteenth

century northern Europe had evolved a cogent, simple latinity of personal reflection ; that this manner of expression is specially associated with the spiritual descendants of Groote ; and that the *Imitatio* is written in such an idiom. Here are two examples :

[*De bono pacifico homine*] Tene te primo in pace, et tunc poteris alios pacificare. Homo pacificus magis prodest quam bene doctus. Homo passionatus etiam bonum in malum trahit, et faciliter malum credit. Bonus pacificus homo omnia ad bonum convertit.

Fili, quantum a te vales exire, tantum in me poteris transire. Sicut nihil foris concupiscere internam pacem facit, sic se interius relinquere, Deo coniungit. Volo te addiscire perfectam abnegationem tui in voluntate mea, sine contradictione et querela. Sequere me. *Ego sum via, veritas et vita*. Sine via, non itur ; sine veritate, non cognoscitur ; sine vita, non vivitur.

This style is entirely a piece with that of the other treatises. Between the *Imitatio* and the other proved works of Thomas there is no serious discrepancy. If there is a common source and teacher, it is Bernard of Clairvaux. Yet it would be wholly incorrect to deny that Gerson could and did write in this manner. The linguistic argument is certainly far from being conclusive.

The investigation of the manuscripts of the *De Imitatione Christi* is a long and complicated matter. It has been done with great thoroughness by Dr. Michael Pohl, and I do not want to repeat any of his conclusions here : but to two of the codices it is worth drawing special attention.

One of these is the Kircheim Manuscript, now at Brussels, containing the first three books, described as *tractatus editus a probo et egregio viro Thoma de Monte Sancte Agnetis et canonico regulari descriptus ex manu auctoris in Trajecto, anno 1425*. Attempts have been made to show that *editus* does not imply authorship, but that Thomas was a copyist : that he did his copy from the autograph manuscript in Utrecht. There is, however, very little doubt about the meaning of *edere*. It means to give to the world, to issue or make public. The problem, however, is the date of the entry attributing the authorship to Thomas of Agnetenberg. Unfortunately this cannot be clearly established. It is probably somewhat later than the manuscript itself, and will not serve to support the Thomas attribution ; it may well date from the time when the authorship was first contested.



Of greater importance is the autograph itself. This is known as A in Dr. Pohl's list,<sup>1</sup> and it belonged to the monastery of St. Agnes itself. Reproduced by Ruelens, it contains thirteen treatises. It is now in the Royal Library at Brussels. At the end of the *Imitatio* is written in a very much smaller contemporary hand :

Finished and completed in the year of Our Lord 1411 by the hands of brother Thomas Kempis in Mount St. Agnes, near Zwolle.

During the rising of the Netherlands, St. Agnes was frequently attacked, and about 1570 many of the Brethren took refuge in St. Martin's Priory at Louvain. In 1577 Johannes Latomus, prior of the monastery of the Throne near Herenthals and visitor-general of the Congregation of Windesheim, visited St. Agnes monastery, and rescued the volume. He took it to Antwerp, where he gave it to one of his friends, Jean Bellère, one of the chief printers of the City of Antwerp. Bellère died in 1595, leaving two sons who were Jesuits, and it was perhaps owing to their influence that he gave the Agnetenberg volume to the Society of Jesus in Antwerp.

If the text of this manuscript is examined, it will be seen that the note of authorship itself is in the hand of the greater part of the manuscript, though the passage is blurred and a determined attempt has been made to erase it. There is no doubt of its contemporary character. Now, after Book III, chapter 43 of the *Imitatio* (*De non attrahendo sibi res exteriores*) a new hand makes its appearance, and takes up the tale as far as *quam prudenter* in chapter 45. This new hand is worth study ; for, if I am correct, it bears very close resemblance to the one that wrote the Prologue to the *Soliloquium Anime* in the very important Cambrai text of certain of Thomas's treatises, called by Pohl W.<sup>2</sup> This particular manuscript belonged to the monastery of Walincourt in the diocese of Cambrai, and was examined by Molinier. On fo. 34r. of this we read :

Here begins the prologue to the *Soliloquium Anime* published [*editum*, note the use of the word again] by brother Thomas of the Order of Regular [canons] under the chapter of Windesheim, who also compiled those treatises "Qui sequitur me."

<sup>1</sup> *Thomae a Kempis Opera Omnia*, ii. 439 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, i. 377-9.

At the end of the Soliloquium are the words :

Here ends the *Soliloquium anime* of brother Thomas of the order of regular canons, thanks be to God, in the year of Our Lord 1438 before the feast of the 11,000 virgins. Wherefore pray for the writer.

The fact, if it be a fact, that the hand that wrote these notes in the Cambrai manuscript also appears in the Agnetenberg volume is of some interest and significance, particularly in view of the mention of the *Qui sequitur me* ; for this is nothing else than the *Incipit* of the Imitation. The notes at the beginning and end of the *Soliloquium* are not, of course, autographs ; but they constitute a definite attribution of the *Imitatio* to Thomas in 1438. A second passage in W. referring to the *Libellus spiritualis exercicii* says that it was *editus* “ by the venerable father the subprior of the monastery of Canons Regular near Zwolle, which is under the chapter of Windesheim, who also composed those devout treatises *Qui sequitur me* with the three following, as well as several others ”. So, as Pohl remarks, here are two definite attributions of the *Imitatio* to Thomas of Agnetenberg before 1441. At the same time one must face the fact that there are earlier and unattributed versions of the *Imitatio* which the distinguished scholar Puyol thought can be dated prior to A and W. To my mind the anonymity is the strongest argument for Thomas ; but others do not see it in this light, and the element of doubt must still be there. It is not a very substantial doubt.

Most people who have written and argued about the *Imitatio* have not troubled themselves with other works of Thomas of Agnetenberg : here is a little poem—or rather jingle—of his which expresses the ideal of the religious life :

Imitare sanctum Benedictum,  
 Serva omne verbum tibi dictum.  
 Bonum est laborare manibus ;  
 Melius orare cum fletibus.  
 Quaerere Iesum cum Bernardo,  
 Cum Hugone et Richardo,  
 in Canticis Canticorum  
 et in choro angelorum  
 In studio clericorum  
 et in verbis seniorum,

In commentis magistrorum  
et in libris devotorum.  
Praemiaberis cum confessoribus  
Si abnegaveris te in omnibus.

It is not very artistic ; yet it contains certain lines worth remembering. St. Bernard, Hugh and Richard of St. Victor : to these the *Imitatio* owes most, especially to Bernard's Sermons on the *Cantica Canticorum*. To the Victorines the Augustinian owed the doctrine of nature and grace to which we drew attention ; in *commentis magistrorum* is the only line out of keeping with the *Imitatio* ; the last sentence takes one back to that treatise for self-denial and the withdrawal of self from the destruction of the world are its leading notes.

Who then was Thomas, or, as we more generally call him, Thomas Hemercken, of Agnetenberg ? He was an Augustinian, a brother of the house of Mount St. Agnes near Zwolle ; born at Kempen, near Cologne, in 1380 ; brought up at the school of Deventer, where he came under the influence of Florence Radewijns and other disciples of Gerard Groote. He made his profession in 1407 ; took priests' orders in 1413, and became sub-prior in 1425. He lived till 1471. Only twice did he leave his house, once to go to Windesheim, once to Ludenbeck, to escape an interdict. These are the simple facts. Not very much ever happened to him from without ; but he has drawn with exquisite sensitiveness a picture of himself as a boy in the choir at Deventer :

It was my custom at Deventer to attend the choir-singing in the Church with my school-fellows, according to the desire of my brother Bohne, who had the management of the choir as well as of the school. As often as I saw my superior Florentius [Radewijns] standing in the choir, the mere presence of so holy a man inspired me with such awe that I dared not speak when he looked up from his book. On one occasion it happened that I was standing near him in the choir, and he turned to the book we had and sang with us. And standing close behind me, he supported himself by placing both his hands on my shoulder ; and I stood quite still, scarcely daring to move, so astonished was I at the honour he had done me.

In spite of his disregard of literary honour and ambition, Thomas had the scholar's temperament. " If he shall not lose his reward who gives a cup of cold water to his thirsty neighbour, what will



not be the reward of those who, by putting good books into the hands of those neighbours, open to them the fountains of eternal life? Blessed are the hands of such transcribers."

The bulk of modern critical scholarship is on the side of Thomas: but if we still feel the case unproven, we can at least determine the background and antecedents. I have tried to show that the work fits into the body of ideas and thoughts connected with the pietistic movement in the Low Countries during the later Middle Ages. Yet no book is wholly determined by its environment, and in the *Imitatio* there is a certain tendency towards isolation, wholly different from the spirit of the common life in the Brotherhouses, and a concentration upon the inner life which has been specially pointed to by Dr. Inge in his *Christian Mysticism*. The *Imitatio*, he argues, is a work of intense preoccupation with the inner life, to the exclusion of outer concerns. It is in a sense a-social, occupied with individual perfection within a restricted orbit. I do not think that the ascetic character of the *Imitatio* need disquiet any who hope to see in it the inflection of the sunny and genial atmosphere of Deventer or Zwolle. Rigid personal discipline, the exclusion of all temporal matters and strenuous absorption and perseverance in self-development are general characteristics of the devotional literature of the fifteenth century. The root of the matter lies in chapter 38 of Book III: here the disciple is instructed to be in every place and in each action or external occupation free within (*intimus liber*) and master of himself (*tui ipsius potens*); "and let all things be beneath thee, and though not beneath them; that thou mayest be lord and ruler of thy actions, no slave or hireling"; a personality self-reliant, because relying upon God. *Verus profectus hominis est abnegatio sui ipsius: et homo abnegatus valde liber est et securus.*

## THE BIBLE AND MANKIND.<sup>1</sup>

By EDWARD ROBERTSON, D.LITT., D.D.

PROFESSOR OF SEMITIC LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES IN THE  
UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER.

THE Old Testament is the record of God's dealings with the Jewish nation over a period of fifteen hundred years at least. Yet although in origin it is a Jewish book, it has obviously a universal appeal, for all mankind brought into contact with it has found in it a fountain of living water. To be the source of religious ideals for millions, to give impulse and direction to the religious and cultural progress of mankind is a tremendous power to find centred in one small book. Yet it is there for all to see.

It is a common argument of sceptics and atheists that all religion is based on fear. Man we are told, is like a frightened child crying out and stretching forth trembling hands through the darkness for succour and consolation. He peoples the vast unknown universe with spirits with potentialities for good or evil, and if he would triumph over the vicissitudes of this mortal life, he must learn to placate these creations of his mind and gain their help. Hence the gibe at all religion as a debasement of manhood. It ignores, they allege, man's essential worth, encourages slavish dependence, and impairs his dignity as the highest of earth's creatures.

It cannot, of course, be denied that many primitive religious systems, and some more advanced, unconsciously lay themselves open to such charges, but not so the Old Testament. From the first, it has stressed the dignity of man. It postulates

<sup>1</sup> One of the opening addresses at the Exhibition of Jewish Books in the Manchester Central Public Library, April, 1938. By the Bible here is meant the Jewish Bible, the Old Testament.

that in respect of reason man has reached the divine plane. His reason and will remain unfettered. In the Bible, as Reuchlin, the precursor of Martin Luther, has said, "God confers direct with men and men with angels, face to face, as one friend confers with another." The Bible shows us the Jew not only conversing with God, but entering into covenants with Him. In its pages, perhaps for the first time in his long history, man stands erect on his feet before his God, vindicating the dignity of his manhood as befits one made in the image of his Creator. The value of that attitude of mind to humanity can hardly be overstressed. It effectively shuts out fatalism, that insidious accompaniment of so many religions and most effective brake on the wheels of human initiative and progress.

Another lesson, closely allied to the first, which the Bible taught mankind, was the value of the individual as distinct from the group. Individualism appears to have been ingrained in the Jewish race from the first. It was natural that this individualism should find expression in their Bible. Even as a race they walked alone, in the words of Balaam, "a people dwelling apart nor reckoning itself with the nations." Progress in human affairs does not come through warring nations and marching armies. It comes rather where individuals with great ideals and strong religious convictions have stood up and cast their shadow over the world. Without the stress laid on individualism the Jewish religion could hardly have produced the great prophets. At first, the covenant was with the nation (Abraham and his seed) and relationship with God was maintained through sacrifice. When the Temple was destroyed the Bible took the place of sacrifice, and Jewish piety more and more assumed the character of individual effort, directed to the strict observance of the law. No longer was the individual swallowed up in the nation. No longer would the sins of the fathers be visited on the children. By the time of Ezekiel even, the individual had become responsible for his own actions before God, and no longer would the proverb have meaning in Israel: "The fathers have eaten sour grapes and the children's teeth are set on edge." And Job's stand, too, has often been hailed as the triumph of the individual conscience over the collective conscience. The



assertion of individual responsibility in matters religious was now complete.

What is the special value of this Jewish individualism which as a strong under-current directed the course of their religious development? Buddhism in its teaching does not deny the existence of individuality. It, however, denies to it any importance or operative value. To Buddhism individuality is a mere delusion indulged in by mortals who imagine themselves separate from the rest of mankind, but are no more separate than is the tiny bubble from the ocean on which it rests. In such a conception of individuality there is no vitality. It is still-born and of no practical effect. But not so the sturdy individualism of the Old Testament. Individuality *there* is not a delusion but a reality. That religion should be viewed as a direct relationship between a man and his God with no other human intermediary was a claim and an inculcation of the highest importance. This religious individualism operated in the Christian Church as it had done in Judaism, and the great Reformation movement with its far-reaching effects on western civilisation, and hence on world civilisation and culture, was one visible result of its operations. The liberty of the individual is a watchword amongst us to this day, bearing mute testimony to the great Book whence it derived.

Another great avenue for moral advance was opened to mankind in the Jewish conception of Law. There were law codes in being in lands adjacent to Israel which claim an antiquity greater than the great Mosaic Code. The best known of these is the Babylonian Code of Khamurabi (c. 1800 B.C.) many of whose laws are paralleled in the law of Moses. Scholars have shown that the association of a name with a code cannot be held to imply authorship, or at least sole authorship, for many of the provisions of Khamurabi's Code were in force in early Mesopotamia many centuries before his time. The Jewish Law was to apply to all persons equally. "Ye shall not respect persons in judgment. Ye shall hear the small and the great alike."

The basis of all law, primarily at any rate, is equity. As a man does to others so shall it be done to him. An eye for an

eye, and a tooth for a tooth. The Mosaic Code is no exception, but there has been introduced into it an ameliorative spirit which is foreign to the others and finds no expression in them. It is best described as a humaneness, a spirit of mercy, a loving-kindness—all that is contained in the expressive Hebrew word *hesed*. Through its operation protection is given to the helpless. Not only are the widowed and fatherless, the poor, the friendless and the stranger specially provided for, but slaves and dumb animals come within the scope of its operations. There is implicit in every law both a penalty and the power to exact it. Other Codes could be, and were, rigidly and coldly penal. The Hebrew *hesed*, however, spread a warm glow through the cold body of legalism, attained recognition as an essential operative element in Jewish legislation, and contributed its share in the evolution of the lofty ethics of the great prophets. No better summing up of the whole duty of man can be given than that of Micah, "He hath showed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee but to do justly, and to love mercy (*hesed*) and to walk humbly with thy God." Like the leaven hid in three measures of meal this *hesed* still functions, and modern prison reforms, first offenders' acts, children's courts, and the stress laid on moral regeneration rather than vindictive punishment are but a stage on the path opened up by the Bible many centuries ago.

Another of mankind's debts to the Bible is the weekly day of rest, one of the greatest of all blessings to toiling mortals. It has been contended that the Babylonians had a similar institution long before the Hebrews. Investigation has shown that the Babylonians had certain fixed feast days throughout the month, but they had not the one day in seven sanctified in the Bible. To us who know and appreciate the value of the day of rest, and recognise the tribute paid to it by its world-wide acceptance, it must seem strange that such an institution could ever have had its detractors. Yet Greek and Latin writers alike attacked it, and the philosopher Seneca regarded it as not only valueless, but even pernicious. "To remain idle every seventh day," he said, "is to lose a seventh part of life while many pressing interests suffer." The while he was speaking the practice of

its observance multiplied, and not very many years later Josephus, the Jewish historian, could assert with pride, "There is no single town, Greek or non-Greek, where the observance of our Sabbath has not spread." To those who imitated the Jew and adopted one day in seven as a day of rest it was no doubt merely a day of idleness and festivity. To the Jew, however, it was an opportunity for worship and study as well as rest and recreation. The Sabbath could never have drawn to itself public attention and forced its way into general acceptance as a holiday had not its celebration been a strict religious obligation on the Jews formulated in their Torah. The seven-day week found increasing favour in the Roman world and was widely observed long before it was made legal by Constantine the Great in the fourth century of the Christian era. What do we not owe, what does mankind in general not owe, to the Bible for this priceless boon, shared in by people of all faiths throughout the world?

We will not attempt to deal here with the indebtedness of mankind to the Old Testament as the fountain-head of two great world faiths, Christianity and Islam, both of which have had great influence on the course of the world's history. The extent of the debt is obvious and requires no stressing from us. While we have singled out four of the debts mankind owes to the Bible, because of their influence on the main stream of human progress, they do not by any means exhaust the list. There are many others to which we must be content to draw brief attention.

Western civilisation has gone far towards world conquest, and has been hailed as the highest pinnacle of human achievement yet reached. It is the result of the confluence of two great streams—the Biblical and the Classical. The obligation of Western Civilisation to the poets, dramatists, philosophers, scientists, sculptors of Greece and Rome is a great one, and one it gratefully acknowledges. But what would have been its fate if it had accepted their religion as well? The religions of Greece and Rome had no sacred book, no Bible. Morality was divorced from religion. It was for them a theme for philosophic discussion rather than an essential of religion and a way of life. The Greeks and Romans never seem to us to take their own gods seriously. Their poets, who held the foremost place in



popular esteem, treated them with the levity which the credited mode of divine living, void of morals and far from respectable, invited. Then, too, the Golden Age, when men lived as gods without toil and sorrow, when life was one festive round, and death gentle as sleep came to an old age void of infirmities, lay behind in a distant past. In front stretched ages marked out for increasing disabilities and afflictions. What must eventually have been the effect on Western Civilisation of an attitude of life which believed that the best ages of the world were past, and that the world-process was slipping steadily down to an all-engulfing cataclysm? What a hopeless and cheerless outlook for mankind! The Old Testament, as the ultimate source, too, of Christianity, supplied the corrective. The Golden Age for the Old Testament lies still ahead—the new Jerusalem to which all nations will stream to worship the one God. The Old Testament taught mankind to advance with the vigour inspired by hope, not with the lassitude born of despair. A civilisation with no religious ideals and no religious vitality would have been doomed from the outset. Could mankind have drawn much spiritual sustenance from the philosophic dicta of the Seven Sages, or the carefully guarded pages of the Sibylline books? Could mankind have benefitted by showering gifts on Pythian Apollo at Delphi even if it believed that *there* was the centre of the earth? It is clearly from some such fate that the Bible has rescued us.

And what shall we say of the other influences of the Bible which come so readily to the mind? There is its insistence on the worship of one God and one God only, when the worship of gods many was the feature and the boast of ancient, great and proud civilisations. There is the stress laid on family education and worship which had far-reaching effects on the peoples with whom the Jews came into contact. There is the universal appeal of the Old Testament literature which bears a message for all mankind. And of no part of the Old Testament is this more true than it is of the Psalter. "The Psalm-book of that little Hebrew people," said George Adam Smith, "has become the confessional of half mankind." There is the vision of universal peace which it holds up before mankind when nation will no longer war against nation, when even the unceasing warfare in

the animal world will be stilled, when the wolf will dwell with the lamb, and the lion eat straw like the ox. There is its ethical monotheism, the crowning achievement of the great prophets, which reached religious heights never before scaled. There is also the influence of the literary style of the Old Testament—so great that it has left its mark on the literatures of all Europe. As has been said: "There is hardly a great writer from Dante to Tolstoi, from Petrarch to Swinburne, who does not owe inspiration in style or material or both to the Bible." The Classical idiom, fine as it is, will always appear alien in English translation, but the Hebrew idiom has so intertwined itself with the English language that it always appears part and parcel of it. The Classical idiom has the frigidity of the mind, the Hebrew idiom the warmth of the heart. Who can forget the Old Testament use of metaphors, so homely, yet so effective—the garment of praise, the door of hope, the path of life, the cup of consolation, the oil of joy, the bread of tears, and many more. How skilfully here are the familiar objects of every day life converted into means of religious instruction. And yet, how English these expressions sound although they are all pure Hebraisms.

The Old Testament is a book of wide scope and varied content—a casket of religious gems in a literary setting of gold. But a book of that nature requires interpretation, and diversity of faith is fostered by the angle of study and intensity of conviction. Emerson in cynical mood has remarked that the religion of one age is the literary entertainment of the next. The Bible has been subjected to a wide variety of interpretations, but from its portals no earnest enquirer after divine truth was ever turned away empty. If ever it were conceivably possible that the Bible should suffer the fate of many famous books and perish—if ever the silver cord should be loosed and the golden bowl be broken—it would still live on imperishable, immortalised in its great contributions to the highest ideals and the true life and progress of mankind.

## THE MODERN STUDY OF PERSONALITY.<sup>1</sup>

By T. H. PEAR, M.A., B.Sc.

PROFESSOR OF PSYCHOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER.

WHAT'S in a name? Much, if it labels a lecture, since its title may have caused you to come here. I must therefore make clear what, for the next hour, this old and popular word Personality means to me. Some of you will disagree, but I ask your permission merely to mark off a province of study by this term.

A discourse upon the different meanings of the word would be consonant with the traditions of the John Rylands Library, but being singularly unfitted to attempt such a task I will refer you to a recent book in which this fascinating subject is fully discussed.<sup>2</sup> The aims of the present lecture are more limited ; to expound with definition and illustration, the psychological problems of Personality.

The use now to be made of the word approaches one which is popular to-day. This fact may not commend it to the philologist or philosopher, yet occasionally popular usage has a special recommendation for a social psychologist, since the people from whom he may get valuable information can understand his questions if put in their own language. An explorer, though he may be familiar with systems of credit employed in a complex culture-pattern may find it wise, when in a simpler one, to use cowrie-shells ; the psychologist also is beginning to learn this lesson.

<sup>1</sup> An elaboration of the lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on the 12th January, 1938.

<sup>2</sup> Gordon W. Allport, *Personality, a Psychological Interpretation*, 1937. New York : Henry Holt, 24-54.



I will now offer examples showing the importance of the psychological problems of Personality. Let us suppose that you can move freely between England, France and the Channel Islands, whose inhabitants possess many characteristics of both these countries. You, being English, will soon become aware of very different personalities amongst the people whom you encounter in the houses, hotels, streets and lanes, and on the buses and boats. Yet, to a Chinese, unless he had been trained in anthropology or linguistics, these people, so different to your eye and ear, might all look and sound rather similar. To you this may seem incredible, for fascinating problems are suggested by differences in their appearance. You note the shortness and dark-hairedness of one group, in which a moderately tall or fair individual immediately acquires 'personality-value' on that account. You observe the individuality or the standardised appearance of their clothing—Breton peasant costume at one end of the scale and sports-coat and 'slacks' at the other; the geographical and social 'strata' in their ways of speaking, easy or stiff manners, reserve or friendliness, suspicion or trustfulness towards strangers, the design of the people's houses, their pictures and furniture, distinctive flowers in their gardens; all these may be interpreted by you as personality-differences.

To make such distinctions you need not be a scientific observer; indeed, socially-disposed people may regard a holiday as dull if it does not give them the chance of exercising this power upon varied and new material.

Many of these impressions are 'snap' judgments, demanding no prolonged study of the person seen and heard. The ready smile of the Channel Islanders, when asked for help or advice; the standardised, almost enigmatic politeness of the French hotel official; the hearty broad accents associated with particular counties in England; the care-free tones of one stratum of society, and the 'hurt' or petulant, speech-melody affected by or natural to another; facial beauty, natural or unashamedly artificial; how readily they are made the basis of unhesitating judgments! How surprised, even annoyed, we may be if someone flatly denies our statement, axiomatic to us, that So-and-so looks or sounds natural, affected, hearty, shy or reserved! Yet in the absence

of such contradiction our behaviour towards another person is shaped. We respond to a smile, are affronted or frozen by stand-offishness, repelled, amused or interested by artificiality.

Now, whether the observed person will show any further invitation to make our temporary relationship more intimate, will depend in part upon our own responsive behaviour, which is prompted by our subjective judgments. In other words, it takes at least two to make a 'personality-trait' effective; the observed and the observer, and an estimation of personality often tells you more about the judge than about the person subjected to his decision. The effects of their impact will depend upon their race, nationality, sex, social group, age, degree of education and culture—by no means the same thing in 1938—and upon the spatial and temporal setting of the encounter.

Some aspects of behaviour may be—in the words of the Church Catechism—outward and visible signs of an inward and spiritual grace, yet some signs may not indicate grace. I propose to term all these signs (visible, audible, tangible, and the rest) signals of personality, and decline to call them traits of *Character*. A personality-signal may act in a second; in that time, nobody could read character. The personality, or personalities, of film-actors or radio-stars are all-important to their audiences, to whom their true characters may matter little. A night-watchman's personality may be, but his character is not, negligible. The manager of a cosmopolitan hotel must have a variegated assortment of personalities, but in addition, his character is of great moment.

Do we not speak of a charming, vivid, dull, or repellent personality, and of an honest, stable, dependable or shifty character? When, a generation ago, a maidservant was asked for her 'character', this was a request for a letter testifying to her trustworthiness, since the personality which she would show to her future employer could often be judged at an interview.

Such a severely practical distinction cannot be made in all modern languages, even in those closely related to English; the journal now called *Character and Personality*<sup>1</sup> was issued in

<sup>1</sup> Ed. by C. E. Spearman. London: Allen & Unwin. U.S.A.: Duke University Press, Durham, N.C.

America and Great Britain as *Personality*, while a German edition which followed was called *Charakter*. In this journal, William A. Thomson expresses himself on the subject as follows :<sup>1</sup>

Any definition of personality is at once subject to criticism from many different sources. . . . No single definition of personality ever has been accepted by psychologists in general as being satisfactory. Murphy and Jensen<sup>2</sup> have devoted an entire book to the purpose of attempting to make a few of the contemporary definitions of personality intelligible. It is their contention that no one to-day can " . . . seriously undertake to say that he knows what personality is " <sup>3</sup> but that many approaches to the study of personality now employed may ultimately produce a solid and substantial science. Allport,<sup>4</sup> in an exhaustive study of the etymology of the term *personality*, lists fifty definitions, including those with special theological, philosophical, juristic, sociological, biosocial, and psychological meanings.

I now offer the following working definitions of Personality, Character, Temperament and the Self.

*Personality* is defined as the effect upon others of a living being's appearance, sounds, behaviour, etc., so far as they are taken to be distinctive signs of that individual. Personality, therefore, can be expressed by physique, colouring and odours—all these may be completely natural or artificially modified—by clothes and behaviour. Behaviour, of course, includes gait, gestures, manners, voice, and speaking.

There are overlappings in this classification. Awareness of the factors of personality is not essential, and its degree varies in different persons, as anyone who has known an actor will attest. The possessors of marks of personality may be clearly aware, dimly aware, or unaware of any of these effects, of their causes, or of the means by which they are produced.

*Character* is defined as the comparatively stable structure of a person's mind, wrought by abilities (habits, techniques, skills), sentiments, and by their integration into a relative unity.<sup>5</sup>

Though Dr. P. E. Vernon's definition is of a *personality-trait*, and not of personality in general, it is interesting in this connexion. It is—

An individual is said to possess, or to be characterised by, a certain personality trait when he exhibits a generalised and consistent form, mode or type of

<sup>1</sup> *Character and Personality*, June, 1938, VI, 4, p. 275.

<sup>2</sup> G. Murphy and F. Jensen, *Approaches to Personality*. New York, 1933 : Coward-McCann, Inc.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. x.

<sup>4</sup> G. W. Allport, *op. cit.*, 24-50.

<sup>5</sup> From the author's *Psychology of Effective Speaking*. London : Kegan Paul, 1933, p. 16.



reactivity (behaviour) and differs (deviates) sufficiently from other members of his social environment, both in the frequency and intensity of his behaviour, for his atypicality to be noticed by relatively normal and impartial observers, themselves members of this same environment. . . . The definition tries to express the notion that the trait is a relation between the individual and his observers.<sup>1</sup>

*Temperament* is defined by Professor G. W. Allport<sup>2</sup> as

the characteristic phenomena of an individual's emotional nature, including his susceptibility to emotional stimulation, his customary strength and speed of response, the quality of his prevailing mood, and all peculiarities of fluctuation and intensity in mood, these phenomena being regarded as dependent upon constitutional make-up and therefore largely hereditary in origin.

*The Self* may be defined as the individual's awareness of his own existence ; the personality "viewed from within."

It is difficult to discuss the deliberate narrowing of the definition of personality without venturing into metaphysics, but I will try to justify it. Personality-traits *need* not be character-traits, for reasons already given. To say this is not to deny that a clean and tidy man may possess sentiments which urge him to appear in this way. Yet it should be remembered that a firm of men's outfitters claims that a customer may enter their shop, dirty, unshaven, in flying kit, fresh from a trip round the world, and leave it bathed, shaved and in all the complex glory of correct evening dress. This is simply an extensive personality-change. Moreover, if the circumstances of his employment require an individual to be neat and clean while at work, his degree of obedience to these demands may cast little light upon his character. The process of perpetually exhibiting certain signs of personality, e.g. a smile and a tolerant way of speaking, may eventually alter a person's character, but there need be no close connexion between the two experiences.

A difficult problem vanishes, or decreases considerably, if the above definition of the Self be accepted. Is one aware of personality-signs? This depends upon circumstances ; the retired army officer may seldom be aware of his distinctive personality-signs, but he was acutely conscious of many of them when a raw subaltern ; his trainers saw to that.

<sup>1</sup> *Psychological Review*, 1933, 40, 542 f.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 54.

The question may be asked "What kind of a personality had Robinson Crusoe on the desert island, before Friday came?" The answer in terms of the present definition, would be "Unless he regarded his own reflection in the water, spoke while attending to its effect upon himself, or impressed some animal, none. But he would have a temperament, a character and a self."

It is scarcely necessary to point out the considerable interest taken in personality to-day. Not only do popular magazines deal with the subject with varying degrees of effectiveness, but many of their advertisements strongly suggest the possibility, even the desirability, of altering the reader's personality. Powerful factors contributing to this interest are increased travel, and the illustrated papers, films and radio. It is not uncommon for academic psychologists to record these facts with pained amusement or whimsical contempt, but to do this may suggest a failure to distinguish between the methods and the subject-matter of psychology. The beliefs and customs, even of the people around us, form part of this material. Moreover, plenty of people are uninfluenced by the factors mentioned above. Social groups can be found—for example in monasteries and regiments—in which individual experiment with one's personality is not encouraged. The question "To what extent are people who desire to alter their personality-traits different from the average?" may be raised, but not answered, here. Probably readiness or reluctance to effect such alteration is an important constituent of character.

It is interesting to reflect that to-day the characters of people around us may be less simple than were those of persons in similar social circumstances fifty years ago. Loyalties are now demanded in many conflicting directions; to respect one's 'betters' is perhaps no easier than it was a century ago. In the memory of living people, respectable Nonconformists have refused to pay their rates, and in all countries many desirable citizens have been imprisoned. If character depends upon the nature of its constituent sentiments, and upon the way in which they are integrated, many post-war characters will certainly be difficult to comprehend; for successful intuitive understanding probably implies the possession of sentiments similar to those of the person judged.

## STUDYING PERSONALITY AT DIFFERENT LEVELS.

Psychological text-books and journals can be divided into those which recognise the importance of differences between personalities and those which do not. Until recently, a typical text-book of psychology written by an Englishman, Frenchman or German would have resembled one written by a Japanese. The chapter-headings would have been stereotyped, dealing with such impersonal subjects as Sensation, Perception, Emotion, Thought and Will. Modern studies of personality, however, are numerous and varied.<sup>1</sup> P. E. Vernon, who has thoroughly studied the literature of this subject, has asserted<sup>2</sup> that differences can be traced between the typical American and German approaches. The former tends to fractionate the personality into entities like 'traits', which are, or are believed to be, measurable. Since any numerical values obtained for an individual are usually compared with those characterising many others, there is a tendency to lose sight of the uniqueness of the personality while satisfying the desire for statistical material. A partially off-setting advantage is, of course, that any trait, thus quantitatively indicated, will appear in perspective.

In contrast, the German approach concentrates upon relatively few persons, trying to understand them (*Verstehendepsychologie*), often declining to use statistical devices, such as methods of correlation. This fundamental difference of outlook exists in other studies. G. W. Allport,<sup>3</sup> for example, discusses the separation proposed by W. Windelband (*Geschichte und Naturwissenschaft*, 3rd ed., 1904) between the *idiographic* and the *nomothetic* disciplines; i.e. between those which seek only general laws and use only procedures admitted by the exact sciences, and those (e.g. history, biography, and literature) which endeavour to understand some *particular* event in nature or in society.

I venture to put into semi-graphical form a paragraph from Dr. Vernon's article, illustrating his concept of 'levels'. It

<sup>1</sup> Cf. G. W. Allport and P. E. Vernon, "The Field of Personality," *Psychological Bulletin*, 1930, 27, 681-687.

<sup>2</sup> "The American and German Approaches to the Study of Personality," *British Journal of Psychology*, vol. 24.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, 22.



should be borne in mind that some levels are not distinct from each other.

### LEVELS OF EXPRESSION OF PERSONALITY<sup>1</sup>

1. Anatomical. Constitutional types, measurements of features, physique.
2. Physiological. Endocrinological, chemical and psychogalvanic measurements.
3. Motor performances, variability in reaction-time, persistence and vacillation. Spontaneous movements; handwriting, gestures, gait, dynamics of the voice, accessory movements.
4. Attitudes towards life.
5. Perceptual and imaginal qualities.
6. Style; literary and artistic, appearance, speech, dress, house-furnishings, tastes in music, reading, games and sport.
7. Connections claimed by psycho-analysts between childhood-fixation and subsequent character-traits.
8. Judgments of first acquaintance and of intimate friends, to be examined in the light of the personalities of the judges themselves.
9. Subject's introspections, recorded in their diaries, or given when questioned.

Attempts to study personality at level 1, the anatomical, are many. Inevitably, one thinks of Julius Caesar's desire:

Let me have men about me that are fat;  
Sleek-headed men, and such as sleep o' nights;  
Yon Cassius has a lean and hungry look;  
He thinks too much; such men are dangerous.

(*Julius Caesar*, Act I, Scene 2.)

A book, *Physique and Character*, published in 1921 by a German psychiatrist, Ernst Kretschmer,<sup>2</sup> has been much discussed. He presented evidence that in mental hospitals, elongated and frail 'asthenic' physiques were found most frequently among patients suffering from dementia praecox or schizophrenia (a disease characterised by extreme introversion, or turning-inwards of the Self), and that short, rounded, plump or 'pyknic' physiques were most frequent among manic-depressive patients.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Adapted from P. E. Vernon, *British Journal of Psychology*, vol. 24, p. 173.

<sup>2</sup> London, Kegan Paul.

<sup>3</sup> In composing this far too brief indication of Kretschmer's views, I have been helped by G. W. Allport's book (*op. cit.*, p. 73 f.) which gives references to reviews of the voluminous literature on this subject. Cf. also Cyril Burt, "The Analysis of Temperament," *Brit. Journ. of Medical Psychology*, 1938, XVII, 158-188.

Kretschmer, however, argued further that this represented the relationship between physique and normal personality, rather than character, for (thus begging a very different question) he believes that the abnormal is merely an exaggeration of the normal. This belief, in Kretschmer's setting of theory, would require all tall slender physiques to 'go together' with qualities like introversion, formalism, idealism and romanticism, and rounded, heavier, shorter, physiques with large body cavities, to belong to individuals who are sometimes moody but often jovial, and predominantly extraverted, realistic and objective (Allport). Kretschmer, however, complicates matters by distinguishing two additional types of shape and body, the athletic and the dysplastic.

"Taken at the pathological level," says Allport, "the evidence is favourable enough, though not as favourable as Kretschmer claims. At the normal level, there are many totally negative investigations." He points out that Kretschmer's theory would require character to be innately determined, yet it is not character, but rather temperament, that is closely controlled by the chemistry of the body, and therefore associated with physical build. The relationship of these traits of physique and character and to temperament are not our concern at the moment. They are certainly signs of personality. Try to imagine a fat Don Quixote and a thin Sancho Panza! Many of us expect plump people to be more easy-going and less critical than thin ones, and if we are surprised or disappointed, this reaction is apt to affect our judgment of their personality-traits.

Let us pass to level 2, the physiological. The effects of chemical factors upon personality are likely, on the whole, to be less simply obvious than those of anatomical peculiarities. Investigations into the bio-chemical factors influencing temperament and personality are of great theoretical interest. A summary of them is given by Ross Stagner in his *Psychology of Personality*.<sup>1</sup> He concludes (p. 292) that the glandular, and the bio-chemical approach to personality have yielded little of value for the understanding of the *normal* person. There is no difficulty in establishing the relationship between abnormal conditions

<sup>1</sup> 1937. London: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 279-296.

and personal characteristics, but similar relationships at the normal level are remarkably hard to discern. The difficulty is to determine the nature and the importance for normal mental life of the balance of action of many physiological events. Evidence from the results of deprivation, or lack of balance of power is always extremely hard to evaluate. Yet beyond doubt many factors like texture and colour of skin or hair, brightness of eye, and most constituents of vivacity or dullness are of great importance in personality.

Level 3 might be termed 'physiological-psychological' because, though the personality-traits observed in it obviously depend upon bodily factors (since paralysis of any important motor mechanism inevitably alters a whole number of personality-patterns) the problems which they offer have been studied almost exclusively by psychologists. Subjects of such investigation are those persons who are obviously quick or slow in their reactions, those who 'look' keen or lazy, careful or careless, graceful or gauche, skilful or clumsy.<sup>1</sup> The importance of such traits to-day can be easily seen in a section of society where instruction in 'postural' skills like swimming and dancing is easily obtained, and where as a result the younger generation appears to be almost uniformly graceful.

It has long been known that people's reaction-times to sensory stimuli differ considerably, though how far, if at all, this factor is connected with the 'quickness in the uptake' which is such a marked sign of personality has not been worked out. The tendency, too, of the mental processes of certain people to persist, so that they are switched from one task to another only with difficulty, are not bored with a long piece of work, are uncomfortable when not allowed to finish something which they have begun, often shows itself in their social adjustments. This extremely complex subject has been discussed under the name of perseveration.<sup>2</sup>

It is, however, the spontaneous movements which are most

<sup>1</sup> Cf. T. H. Pear, "Das Wesen der Ungewandtheit und Ungeschicklichkeit," *Industrielle Psychotechnik*, 1938. Berlin, 15 Jahrgang. Heft 1, 47-52.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Allport, *op. cit.*, 416-418; C. Spearman, *The Abilities of Man*, 1927. London: Macmillan, 291-307.



expressive of personality. How far, for example, does an impression of vivacity depend upon free play of facial muscles, brightness of eye, rapid changes of colour in the cheeks, variations of muscular force modifying speech-melody and intonation?

It seems clear that the number, variety, and effectiveness of the gestures which they use must be important personality-signs in many people, and equally obvious that their nationality, education, and general culture-pattern must be taken into account before any safe conclusions can be drawn. Gait, for example, is often a mark of personality; the athlete's swinging stride, the walk of the regular soldier or sailor, the student's stoop, suggest themselves at once. Yet, to study gait, one must be conversant with the professional or other influences which may have affected it. Fashions in dress have often altered the gait of women during the last fifty years.

W. Wolff<sup>1</sup> studied people's gait by means of cinematograph records of subjects who were dressed in loose-fitting garments. Their heads were blocked out when the film was shown. By this means, gait alone could be investigated. The results were surprising. In 70 per cent. of the cases, subjects who took part in the experiment failed to identify the gait of their friends, but easily recognised their own. This self-recognition is much less frequent in other features of expressive behaviour; e.g. Wolff's subjects frequently could not identify their own voices when mechanically reproduced in a series with other voices, their own styles of retelling a story or pictures of their own hands. Such data are obviously important in considering the degree to which we can be aware of our own personality-traits.

Handwriting, a record of delicate, voluntary learned movement, would seem to offer fruitful material for the study of personality. It is perhaps unfortunate that in this region the two aspects of study, Personality and Character, have not been kept apart more. There seems to be a gap between the early 'graphology' and the later study of handwriting by workers like Robert Saudek.<sup>2</sup> The matter is discussed in detail by G. W.

<sup>1</sup> "Zuordnung individueller Gangmerkmale zur Individual-Charakteristik," *Beihefte zur Ztsch. f. ang. Psychol.*, 1931, 58, chap. VI, also *Character and Personality*, 1933, 2, 168-176.

<sup>2</sup> *Experiments with Handwriting*, 1929, New York, Wm. Morrow & Co.

Allport and P. E. Vernon in *Studies in Expressive Movement*.<sup>1</sup> Besides giving an historical survey of the subject, they report experiments, by Powers and others, in which the judgments of professional graphologists (ignorant of the identity of the subjects whose writing they were to examine) were compared with careful psychological estimates of the writers. The results justify the conclusion that practising graphologists, on the whole, seem to give better judgments and make more correct matchings than do untrained persons. "By our (i.e. the psychologists') criteria, the results are still nearer to chance than to perfection." Yet it should be remembered that the psychological criteria may also be defective, that many items in an analysis may be predictions, unverifiable at the time, and that the stringent control of the experiments may have cramped the graphologist's efforts.

In judging, or even in basing the slightest prejudice upon a sample of handwriting, the popular methods of writing and their varieties taught in different countries must be well known. I wonder how many English people admire the legibility of letters written by Americans, but sometimes doubt whether the writing 'shows character', and have difficulty (as I seldom do in England) in deciding upon the sex of the writer from the address on the envelope. Is this resemblance of handwriting by the two sexes partly connected with the high number of women teachers in the U.S.A.?

Fascinating material for the study of personality is offered by the accessory or accompanying movements (*Mitbewegungen*), shown by many people when performing learned actions. They may seem meaningless, but it has sometimes been shown, with or without psycho-analytic investigation, that they are often "reduced manifestations of habitual responses to old conflict-situations." They may be the last flickers of behaviour-patterns, which once meant a great deal to the individual, just as in our social groups the handshake, the military salute, springing to attention, touching the hat, originally meant something fuller and richer.

Maurice Krout<sup>2</sup> has studied 'autistic gestures', a group of

<sup>1</sup> New York, Macmillan Co., pp. 246 f.

<sup>2</sup> "Autistic Gestures," *Psychological Monographs*, 1935, 46, No. 208.

responses previously considered to be chance or meaningless behaviour. I. Hendricks,<sup>1</sup> in *Facts and Theories of Psychoanalysis*, gives this example of a patient who was

much distressed in life by an excessive meekness and lack of self-confidence. For a long time he had been laughed at for a sudden tic-like movement of his flexed arm across the front of his body. Eventually he recalled that this was an abbreviation of a pose he had occasionally assumed before a mirror, imitating pictures of Napoleon with hand in waistcoat. These phantasies of being world-conqueror had long been forgotten.

Most psychotherapists will recall equally striking examples. A technique of military training produces stereotyped movements which it is hoped will be habitual and easy, when their possessor is in a trying situation.

Returning to the general subject of Personality, some of its most important signs are speech-movements. In theory it may be possible to distinguish speech from voice, but in ordinary judgments of personality this seldom or never happens. In England many such judgments are confidently made upon the fused impression of the message and the way in which its delivery is apprehended by the ear and the eye.

The complicated nature of the events which cause one to like or dislike the way in which a person speaks can be grasped if one listens on the radio (or the telephone, though the latter instrument distorts all voices considerably, and some more than others) to a speaker whose manner is known to be charming. Occasionally, in the absence of smiles and friendly gestures, the voice sounds unpleasantly curt and imperative, while with other voices the listener loses little by not seeing the speaker.

Radio (without television) depriving millions of people of the advantages of vision and compelling them to use their ears, has given psychologists an opportunity to study the rôle of the voice in personality.<sup>2</sup>

Some years ago, in co-operation with Mr. E. G. D. Liveing, then Director of the Manchester Broadcasting Station, and with the kind permission of the British Broadcasting Corporation, I obtained judgments from over 4000 listeners concerning the

<sup>1</sup> 1935, New York, Knopf, p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. T. H. Pear, *Voice and Personality*, 1931. London: Chapman & Hall.



vocation, place of residence, age and birthplace of nine speakers of different ages, sex and interests. Sex was stated quite correctly, except in the case of an 11 year-old girl; age was, on the whole, estimated with fair success, though there was a strong 'central tendency' in the judgments to over-estimate the age of the young and underestimate that of the old voices. (The latter fact, of great importance in 'sightless' broadcasting, will remain so until television is widely established.) Descriptions of the physical appearance of the speakers were frequently apt, and vocation was sometimes stated with surprising exactness.

Many interesting points were raised by listeners' judgments of the local (or geographical) and 'social-group' accents. They illuminate the problem of personality, especially in England.

In Vienna, Herta Herzog<sup>1</sup> using a number of radio-speakers, asked listeners to judge their sex, vocation, height, weight, whether the speakers were accustomed to giving orders, and whether they had agreeable voices. She received 2700 answers. All these characteristics were judged more accurately than would have been expected by chance. Women judged age rather better than men did. Her observers often reported that they had based their inferences upon a noticed similarity between the voice of someone they knew, and that of the broadcaster.

Later, Hadley Cantril and G. W. Allport<sup>2</sup> investigated the same problem, with more factors controlled than in previous investigations. Their results indicated that listeners identified generalised traits such as introversion, ascendance-submission, or a descriptive thumb-nail sketch of the personality, with more accuracy than they did such characteristics as occupation, and political or religious attitude. It should be remarked that these experiments took place in America, where a particular way of speaking is perhaps less likely to be associated with a particular religious or political attitude, apart from the possibility that American ways of speaking are more alike than our own.

Attempts have been made to analyse certain features of the voice, and to see if they are related to characteristics of per-

<sup>1</sup> "Stimme und Persönlichkeit," *Zeitschrift für Psychologie*, 1933, 130, 300-379.

<sup>2</sup> *The Psychology of Radio*, 1935. New York: Harper & Brothers.

sonality. Stagner<sup>1</sup> asked listeners to 'rate' ten voices for poise, intensity, flow of speech and clearness, and the speakers for 'aggressiveness' and 'nervousness'. The ratings on flow of speech and clearness were fairly closely correlated with those on nervousness, the rating on intensity agreed fairly well with that on aggressiveness, and poise was related to both nervousness and aggressiveness. The listeners' ratings did not agree with the speakers' self-ratings, suggesting that the average speaker is not aware of the characteristics of his own voice.

It should be emphasised that this work on voices concerns personality, not character. The more any expressive movement-pattern becomes stereotyped inside a particular social group, the less is it a sign of personality. This may account for the relative lack of practical interest, in America, in the connexion of speech with personality, and the greater practical (combined, as one might expect, with an almost complete lack of theoretical) interest taken by our own countrymen in this subject. Many English employers and members of selection-committees, who would deride any proposal to investigate speech, hold definite views about the desirability and undesirability of certain types of speech, and moreover, act firmly upon these opinions.

We pass to the next level, that of *attitudes* towards the outer world and towards oneself respectively. Apart from any theorising or the attempted use of scientific terminology, we all recognise as a striking personality the ready maker of friends or acquaintances, the 'good mixer' contrasted with the reserved, shut-in soul. This distinction of sociable and unsociable does not fit Dr. C. G. Jung's famous 'introvert-extravert' dichotomy as closely as is popularly supposed. Not all introverts are unsociable, and some extraverts are clumsy in personal relationships, quarrelsome, and unpopular. Yet sociability is the obvious way of exhibiting one of the attitudes about which so many psychologists have written. William James described the 'tender-minded' and 'tough-minded'; William Stern the 'objective' and 'subjective', but Jung's terms 'extravert' and 'introvert', "with their transparent etymology," as Allport says, have won

<sup>1</sup> "Judgments of Voice and Personality," *Jour. of Educational Psychology*, 27, 272-277.

the day. Jung's own account can be read in his *Psychological Types*,<sup>1</sup> and has been summarised, with inevitable loss of accuracy, by hundreds of writers. It should be remembered that Jung has complicated his original plan by further distinctions which make his views even harder to present in summary.

An extraverted man, according to Jung, "gives his fundamental interest to the outer or objective world, and attributes an all-important and essential value to it; he is introverted, on the contrary, when the objective world suffers a sort of depreciation, or want of consideration, for the sake of exaltation of the individual himself". Consequently, the extravert prefers participation in the world of objective (social) reality, and in practical affairs, is, or believes himself to be, realistic in outlook, may have strong feelings, which, however, are not delicately differentiated, expresses himself emotionally in a spontaneous and natural way, tends to resolve his conflicts in action and to care little for a single failure, is not for long self-analytic or self-critical, acts in relative independence of others' opinions and is not 'touchy'. The introvert prefers the world of imagination, produces work coloured with his delicately differentiated subjective feelings, tends not to express them immediately, but to delay expression or to vary it in unusual ways, tends to react in fantasy, and to spend much time on self-analysis and self-examination, is sensitive to others' criticism, vividly remembering praise and blame of himself, is 'touchy', tending to take things personally. As Allport (whose summary is paraphrased here) says: "The extrovert usually considers the introvert a sick soul; the introvert is often of the opinion that the extravert is a Philistine and a bore".

It is impossible here to give an idea of the subsequent refinement (or clouding) of Jung's original concept by the added assumptions that one may be introverted as regards one's sensation, feeling, intuition and thinking. Like Freud, Jung seems content to use the terms of old-fashioned psychology, even if they are unclear to psychologists themselves. Probably, however, most professional writers and lecturers will look favourably upon a classification which recognises the type

<sup>1</sup> Kegan Paul.



of person whose thinking is extraverted while his feeling is introverted.

From the evidence it seems likely that Jung's 'types' are not types, but extreme cases at the ends of a continuous variation. A recent investigation of Jung's classification is that of J. P. and R. B. Guilford.<sup>1</sup> They applied mathematical 'factor analysis' to the results of an extensive series of tests of introversion and extraversion. They think that independent clusters of responses from the individual may be involved in a so-called extraverted or introverted action, and that at least three variables participate. The first is social extraversion (S). It is possible to separate from this, emotional dependence or independence; the 'E variable', a tendency to have one's feelings easily hurt, which may not be the same as shyness or a tendency to withdraw from society, since 'touchy' people may be sociable; 'E' seems related to tendencies towards worry, daydreaming and moodiness. The third factor, "masculinity-femininity" (M) is a vague factor confused with the irrelevant consideration of sex. Possibly it is connected with the factor of 'ascendance-submission'.

This is an attempt to give some idea of the problem of 'attitudes'. It is important, complex and difficult. Yet if we try to understand the mental make-up of public figures like Mr. Lloyd George, the late Lord Balfour, M. Clemenceau, Herr Hitler and Signor Mussolini, can we avoid using hypotheses like those indicated above? Even if you excuse a friend, blamed for acting or refraining from acting in a particular manner, on the ground that he is "made that way", your judgment will usually imply some reference to his attitude towards life.

It is not easy to decide whether to discuss under the heading of "attitudes" or that of "motor performances" the problems of tact and manners. Almost certainly they fall into both divisions. Usually it is easier to be tactful in one's own country than in others, not only because, when at home, one's insight into other peoples' states of mind seems to be deeper, but because the requisite behaviour of the larger muscles (knowing which side of the pavement to take, or when to bow, nod or raise

<sup>1</sup> "'Personality Factors' S, E and M, and their Measurement," *Journal of Psychology*, 1936, 2, 109-127.

the hat) or of the speech-mechanisms (apologising, condoling, congratulating) is habitual. It is often easy to be extraverted towards a difficult social situation if one only knows the phrases, whether sincere or insincere, expected by others (Imagine yourself stating, first in your own language and then in another, without imputing blame, that you think you have been overcharged.) The child who, early in life, is taught to behave well at meals, to express appreciation or thanks without embarrassment, to apologise readily when in the wrong, to swim, to play tennis, to ride, to dance, to row, may easily pass as an extravert, though he keeps many of his opinions to himself, while for lack of these techniques his unlucky neighbour may be called a bore and a boor.<sup>1</sup>

We pass to the consideration of personal differences in perception and imagination. I will discuss the latter, and the difficulties of treating them scientifically. Almost certainly, some of you are familiar with vivid or clear visual imagery, which may commonly, even constantly, accompany your mental processes. This type of mind was discussed in my preceding Rylands lecture.<sup>2</sup> By me, people and places are thought of, as well as remembered, in terms of their appearance; and this may bias my judgment at times. Some other people, however, do not think and remember predominantly in this way, and find difficulty in believing that there can be such one-sided visualisers. They themselves may think with words, either mentally heard, or 'felt' in the speech-mechanisms; 'muttered sub-vocally', as some behaviourists inelegantly, and perhaps inaccurately, describe it. Still others—rarer perhaps, than was once thought—may be peculiarly liable to auditory images of words, music and noises. There is also the 'motile' type, thinking and remembering most easily in muscular images, if images they be, and not actual experiences of incipient action. Perhaps to such minds, behaviourism is the only possible psychology, while to the visualiser it may seem but a sledge-hammer emphasis upon certain duties hitherto neglected by most physiologists. To a verbaliser, who thinks predominantly with words, abstract

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the author's *The Maturing Mind*, 1938. London: Nelson.

<sup>2</sup> *The Place of Imagery in Mental Processes*, 1937. Manchester University Press.

statements and slogans may carry more weight, while a visualiser tends to translate them into concrete events which can be pictured, examined and criticised. If this be so, the behaviour which a person shows to others may be strongly affected by such mental peculiarities, yet it is difficult at present to correlate peculiarities of imagery with peculiarities of behaviour. For example, one may be very sensitive to a certain side of life without being able to recall it easily in the appropriate imagery (poor auditory imagery may be accompanied by intense interest in voices) yet can one be richly endowed with visualising power and yet be relatively insensitive to appearances?

The next level is that of Style. So far as we are judged as personalities, and not as characters, our style is an important factor in the impression we make upon others. We are 'placed', socially and geographically, by our style of clothes, speech and manners, and our choice of acquaintances, amusements, sports, furniture, music, books, films and plays. When applying for a situation, it is wise to discover the style of dress, speech and manners desired by the future employer.

Perhaps, nowadays, it is less safe than it was a few generations ago, to base personality-judgments upon style, for in the illustrated papers, especially in those dealing with fashions in personal appearance, dress, and possessions, it is easy to learn about the styles affected by other people, even by royalty. In our own country the problem of identification by style is not made easier by the fact (noted by Professor J. C. Flügel in *The Psychology of Clothes*,<sup>1</sup> that there are constant simultaneous, strenuous attempts both to standardise styles in dress and to increase the differences between them. (Both these movements have interesting economic aspects.) In the totalitarian countries, for obvious reasons, there is much forcible standardisation of many styles, so that to be a personality in them must be more difficult. As Vernon has pointed out, the style of the moment in art or literature may depend as much upon cultural movements or the *Zeitgeist* as upon the temperament of the artist or writer.

Though there are professions, e.g. that of bank-manager, which inevitably cramp one's style in some aspects of life, in



general, the choice of style, where one is free to select, is a very valuable diagnostic sign of personality. This is especially true when the style chosen is recognised as superior to that of the circle in which one moves. To consider this would lead us to the late Dr. Alfred Adler's interesting concepts of the 'style of life' and of 'over-compensation'.<sup>1</sup>

We cannot deal with the next categories in detail, but to a certain extent they explain themselves. You remember the great importance attached by psycho-analysts, and not by them alone, to the child's relationships to its parents in the early years of life. It is claimed that his emotions may become fixated upon one of the parents, and that the resultant lack of freedom in choosing friends, and, later a life-partner, may be seen in many of his subsequent actions. The attractiveness of one kind of personality to certain types of onlooker or 'onhearer' may therefore depend in part upon its resemblance to the type upon which fixation was made in early years. Perhaps the opinions which we may hold concerning the charm of Barrie's, or the virility of Kipling's style owe much to our own early emotional experiences and our subsequent opinion of them.

At level 8 a whole programme of research lies before us. It has often been asserted that any estimation of a personality may tell us more about the assessor than about the person assessed. The blunt man who thinks all polished manners insincere, the introvert who worships men of action, even coarse and stupid ones, the ethnologist who does not realise that his impressions of a social group may reflect his own prejudices; these are simple instances of the bias in most judgments of personality.

Judgments of first acquaintance may range from fleeting impressions to "love at first sight". Probably for a long time the value of first impressions as a guide to character will be a controversial subject. The 'something about him', the '*je ne sais quoi*', upon which one judge lays such heavy, and another such light stress, is an attractive theme for analytic psychology. But I contend that the individual who sweeps you off your feet, or repels you at the very first encounter, does so by signals of

<sup>1</sup> *Practice and Theory of Individual Psychology*, 1924. New York: Harcourt Brace. *Understanding Human Nature*, 1927, p. 176.

personality, and therefore I can rid myself of insoluble questions about the trustworthiness of people with heavy, contiguous eyebrows, or the hot temper of red-headed individuals, since both these appearances can be easily altered if their possessor wishes. Whether people who when speaking, look away from you, are shifty, or those who never look away are straight—this problem we can leave to others, with the remark that a first-class crook would probably have learnt to mould his behaviour with such a prejudice in mind.

A contribution to this subject from the psycho-analysts can be regarded as offering, in many instances, a highly probable explanation of first impression. It is the hypothesis of unconscious assimilation of the present experience to earlier ones, and transference of the emotion originally felt from the earlier experience. In the first years of life, intense likings and dislikings are associated with certain types of face or of general appearance belonging to people who caused these reactions. Thereafter, except in the rare instances when analysis destroys these prejudices, one reacts blindly but immediately to these types. When this associative effect is considerable, the resemblance of the new person to the prototype is usually not seen.

The hypothesis is particularly significant in its suggested relation to the biologically important event of falling in love. A man who has always been very fond of his mother may be specially attracted by faces which resemble hers, or by women who behave 'maternally' towards him. The nature and degree of his affection for his mother, however, may determine whether he will wish to marry such an unconscious reminder, and whether, if he does, the pair will be happy.

A violent, unreasoning dislike of people of another race, colour or nation may also be based upon early associations which have been forgotten. When such unconsciously motivated antagonism affects the ruler of a nation, the result will be tragedy for thousands of victims.

The highest level of study is that upon which the subject's own assertions are examined. These may be his description of his own behaviour, indicating the degree to which he is aware of its effect upon other people, and his introspections, put more

or less adequately into words, with all their advantages and drawbacks as vehicles of meaning. Lastly, there are personal records, of which diaries are the commonest kind. Is it typical of the age that books entitled ' diaries ' are sold in huge numbers, but are used chiefly for recording what one is going to do, not what one did ?

There are many autobiographies which offer valuable psychological data, yet comparatively few detailed inquiries have been made into the value and the shortcomings of such data, and comparative studies are needed. Closely related to such investigations are the inquiries of Charlotte Bühler,<sup>1</sup> E. Frenkel<sup>2</sup> and others. More use could be made by psychologists of the many records of personal correspondence which exist. Here the field of psychology touches that of the student of literature.

In this lecture it has been impossible to do more than to glance at the methods employed to obtain the data which we have discussed. I have tried to show you the interest of the subject. Baffling it may be, but its importance is beyond doubt.

<sup>1</sup> *Der menschliche Lebenslauf als psychologisches Problem*. Berlin, 1933.

<sup>2</sup> " Studies in Biographical Psychology," *Character and Personality*, 1936, 5, 1-34.



# THE NEW VOLUME OF THE CATALOGUE OF THE JOHN RYLANDS GREEK AND LATIN PAPYRI.<sup>1</sup>

By ALEXANDER SOUTER, D.LITT., D.D., LL.D., F.B.A

SOMETIME REGIUS PROFESSOR OF HUMANITY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF  
ABERDEEN.

THE first and second volumes of the Rylands Papyri catalogue have long been familiar to students of papyri as among the most elegant ever published. They were prepared especially by Professor A. S. Hunt, whose early death in 1934 was a calamity for his many friends as well as for scholarship.<sup>2</sup> It was intended that he should prepare the other volumes of the Catalogue also, but this was not to be. The study of papyri having, however, been established on a firm basis in Oxford by the joint teaching of Grenfell and Hunt, it was natural that the task should fall to their distinguished young pupil, Mr. C. H. Roberts, whose works, *An Unpublished Fragment of the Fourth Gospel in the John Rylands Library* (1935) and *Two Biblical Papyri in the John Rylands Library* (1936) have permanently established his name.

If the scholarly public is to be felicitated on the excellence of this volume, the editor is also to be congratulated on the extremely important and varied literary documents that it has fallen to him to describe. Of the many catalogues of papyri that I have read through in the course of the last forty years I can recall none which surpasses this in manifold interest. This

<sup>1</sup> *Catalogue of the Greek and Latin Papyri in the John Rylands Library, Manchester*, vol. III, 'Theological and Literary Texts' (Nos. 457-551), edited by C. H. Roberts, M.A., Lecturer in Papyrology in the University of Oxford and Fellow of St. John's College. With ten plates. Manchester: at the University Press, 1938. Pp. xviii + 218, large 4to.

<sup>2</sup> A worthy tribute was paid to him by Dr. H. I. Bell in *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 1934, pp. 323-336.

very fact increases the difficulty of the editor's task, for while it is possible to acquire a good knowledge of one field, the papyri described cover nearly twenty; and an editor is continually beholden to experts to supplement his own knowledge.

The theological texts comprise the fragment of St. John's Gospel, chap. xviii, of the first half of the second century, which is probably the oldest existing MS. of any part of the New Testament in any language; the fragments of Deuteronomy, chaps. xxiii to xxviii, of the second century B.C., the oldest known fragments of the Old Testament in any language; fragments of Isaiah, chaps. xxi-xxii (of the fifth or sixth century); a fourth-century fragment of a 'testimony book' unrelated to Cyprian's well-known work; Psalms iii and lxii (sixth century); Psalms cxlviii to cl (sixth-seventh century); the new Gnostic Gospel of Mary (third century); Liturgy of St. Mark (sixth century); Epistle against the Manichees (third century, of great interest).

No feature of this volume of the catalogue is more striking than the relatively large number of Latin texts. They begin with a mysterious third or fourth century liturgical fragment; the next piece is a new fragment of a second or third century MS. of Sallust's Histories. The exhaustive but as yet unpublished Sallust lexicon by Mr. J. M. Wyllie, Assistant Editor of the Oxford Latin Dictionary, enables me to state that ten or eleven words in the fragment <sup>1</sup> (*euolant*, *nando*, *puppibus*, *algosum*, *trepidissimum* (superl.), *semermium*, *humatis*, *ex propinquo*, *patrandi*, *testimonium*, and *barba*) are absent from Sallust as hitherto known, but there is no doubt that we have in this papyrus a new part of Sallust. Of these words the most interesting is *algosum*, of which the oldest example in the dictionaries comes from the Elder Pliny, over a century later. Nearly sixty years ago Professor John E. B. Mayor wrote, 'How many words, denounced as "post-Aug." by Freund, have been found in Sall. hist.!' <sup>2</sup> Other Latin items are juristic in character. Then follow fragments of Cicero, *Diuinatio in Q. Cæcilium* (fifth century), with Greek glosses, and Virgil, *Aeneid I* (fourth century) with a Greek word for word translation.

<sup>1</sup> With which is taken an Oxyrhynchus fragment of the same MS.

<sup>2</sup> *Pliny's Letters*, Book III, by J. E. B. M. (London, 1880), p. ix.

Of new classical texts (Greek) there are a fragment of a tragedy (second century), possibly by Sophocles, fragments of Greek comedy (second century), a portion of Callimachus *Iambi* (fourth century), an epyllion on Hero and Leander, Epic fragment, fragment of an anthology, two new speeches by Lysias, an anonymous history about Philip of Macedon, a fragment on the Second Punic War, fragments dealing with the Persian Wars, Aesop (?), *Fables* (first century), and a number of miscellaneous fragments, both verse and prose.

The next section contains scientific and technical texts : Ptolemy, *List of Famous Cities* (third century), Astronomical Table (third century), Astronomical Work (third century), mathematical and astrological treatises, as well as writings on surgery and medicine, Harpocration's *Sayings of the Ten Orators*, grammatical fragments, lexicons to Homer, *Iliad* XIII, V and a metrological table.

Of the portion dealing with extant Greek authors the following is a list : fragments of the *Iliad*, books I, II, V, XI, XXIV, *Odyssey*, books IX, XXIV, Euripides' *Phænissæ*, Thucydides II, Xenophon, *Cyropædia* VII, [Demosthenes] *Against Theocrines*, and Lycurgus, *Against Leocrates*. Of these the most important is no. 540, of *Iliad* II, as it contains a stichometry which is at least twenty-eight lines shorter than the number of lines in the ordinary MSS., and the rare Attic notation is also there employed. This is the same papyrus as that of which Mr. H. J. M. Milne has already published other fragments as no. 6 of his *Catalogue of Literary Papyri in the British Museum*.

The indexes are of the usual fullness associated with British publications of papyri, and the ten plates, which are worthy of the Oxford University Press, represent between thirty and forty of the papyri here described.

The following notes have occurred to me in the course of reading : p. xv, 'Florentini' should be 'Fiorentini' ; p. xvii, as in some other places, the German system of using capital letters is not consistently followed ; p. 7, this point about the date at which 'sacred' names began to be abbreviated in Greek is very important ; p. 8, it would be well to collate with Rahlfs (1935) rather than with Swete, as the former is a constructive



edition ; p. 23, for ὀργιλός read ὀργίλος ; p. 25, for F.A. read F.E. ; p. 27, l. 37, why not πάτερ ? ; p. 44, n. 1, for *veneraris* read *venereris* ; p. 45, l. 6, for μεταλήψιν read μετάληψιν ; p. 47, ll. 4-5, a note on 'catholic and apostolic' would have been in place ; p. 51, for πατέρ read πάτερ ; p. 51, it is begging the question to stigmatize *magnificentia*, seeing that *beneficientia* is found ; p. 53, for *Latini* read *Vocum Latinarum* ; *spiritus principalis* comes ultimately from Psalm 50, 14 ; p. 54 on l. 19, I should have little hesitation in suggestion *cordium*, in view of the frequent use of *cordis inspector* (καρδιογνώστης) ; p. 54 on l. 24, read Gundermann ; p. 55, read Ὀγδοάς ; p. 55 on l. 31, could the form *lethalis* = *letalis* be found as early as this ? ; on l. 33, read ποίησον ; p. 65, the comparatively rare abbreviation for *autem* in l. 1 deserved a note ; p. 70, l. 12, misprint ; p. 72, accent of μεθοδεύειν omitted, and the equivalent of the Greek numerals in Arabic notation not given ; p. 80, the latest critical edition of Virgil, Sabbadini's, might also have been used ; p. 96, read 'provides' ; p. 119, n. 2, edition of Schmidt-Stählin unspecified ; p. 130 (no. 498), I suggest Ἀρσι]νόης ; p. 165, l. 8, read σπασμούς ; p. 182, l. 113, read Κλυταιμησ]τρας ; p. 209, read, μεταφορά and p. 210, πανδημεί.

I suggest that the fourth volume should include further notes on the papyri published in the first and second volumes.

RYLANDS GREEK PAPYRI, NO. 482.

FRAGMENT OF A TRAGEDY. (SECOND CENTURY).

SOME NOTES BY T. B. L. WEBSTER, M.A.

HULME PROFESSOR OF GREEK IN THE UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER.

.....]φ[.....]

[ $\surd$  πρὸς τὸ] κοιν[όν] ἔρχετα[ι  $\surd$  - υ -]

[ἔπειτα καταβά]s, Τήλε[φ'], εἰς τὰ πε[- υ -]

[σήμαινε] να[ύτα]ιs καὶ κ[υ]βερνή[ταιs τάδε,]

5 [ἄφνω π]αρὼ[ν] ἐκ νυκ[τό]s · εἶτα σ[όν]  $\surd$  -]

[ἔργον · σὺ] μὲν [σύ]μβουλο[s] ἐλθὲ τῷ [στολόωι.]

[ἐπεὶ] γὰρ ἡμῶν, ὡς ὁ [μῦ]θός ἐστ', ἀ[γοὶ]

[δίκη τὰ π]ρῶτα καὶ νόμ[ο]ιs 'Ελληνι[κοῖs]

[εἴργο]υσι χρῆσθαι, τ[ῇ]s τύχης ἀμ[αρ]τ[άνων]

10 [τολμᾷ δόμ]οισιν ἐμπε[σ]εῖν · ἀστὸς γὰρ[ρ] ὧς

[εἶσ', ὃν τὸ] κηρύκειον ο[ὕ] δάκνει πλέον ·

[σὺ δ' ἐξά]γοιs ἂν τῇσδ' ἀφ' ἐσπέρας γνάθο[υ ·]

[οὐ γάρ, τὰδ'] ἦν ε<ὐ> θώμεθ', ἀμνηστειν σε χρῆ

[τῶν εἰσέπει]τα · σοὶ δ' ὑπεξελεῖν πάρα

15 [τῶνδ' εἴ τι] μὴ πρόσχο[ρδ]ον, ὡς ἀνὴρ μόλη.

[ΧΟΡΟΣ] ἄγε σ[ὺν] τούτοις τ[ῷ] μὲν ξείνῳ

[συμπλε]ῖν πομποῦ[s] παρατασσέσθω

[. . . να]υαρχός τις [ἀν]ήρ ἔσται ·

[τὸ δ' ἄρ'] ἐκ τούτω[ν αὐ]τὸς ἐγὼ πᾶν<sup>1</sup>

The fragment has been tentatively ascribed to the *Assembly of Achaeans* by Sophocles. It is probable that a papyrus of the second century A.D. would contain the writing of one of the three great authors rather than of some lesser tragedian. The editor

<sup>1</sup> Reprinted from the "Catalogue of Greek and Latin Papyri in the John Rylands Library," Vol. 3; Theological and Literary texts, edited by C. H. Roberts, M.A., pp. 91-94, where Mr. Roberts acknowledges indebtedness to Mr. D. L. Page in the editing of this fragment.

rightly finds nothing to suggest the authorship of Aeschylus and nothing to suggest the authorship of Euripides. It must of course be remembered that Euripides' *Telephus* was produced in 438 B.C. and therefore would have fewer resolved feet and be in general more Sophoclean than the later tragedies. But the subject of the fragment does not fit anything that we know of Euripides' *Telephus*. Unfortunately, although the general feeling of the lines suggests Sophocles, the vocabulary does not provide much evidence as most of the words are common. The following facts, gathered from the indices of the tragic poets, are perhaps worth noting, κηρύκειον is only quoted from Sophocles, ἀμνηστειν is only quoted from Sophocles; ὑπεξελεῖν in the sense of "removing objections" is exactly paralleled in O.T. 227 and nowhere else; σύμβουλος and ναυαρχός are found in Sophocles and Aeschylus but not in Euripides. ἐλληνικός is not found in Sophocles but in both the other tragedians, the metaphorical use of γνάθος is only found in Aeschylus. πρόσχορδον and παρατάσσειν are new words for tragedy.

On the grounds of style then the new fragment is rather more likely to come from Sophocles than either of the other two tragedians. As Τήλεφ' in the third line "may be regarded as certain," the play must have dealt with Telephus. Sophocles wrote a trilogy about Telephus,<sup>1</sup> probably well before 430 B.C. The plays seem to have been the *Aleadae*, in which Telephus killed his uncles, the sons of Aleus, king of Tegea, the *Mysians*, in which Telephus was nearly killed by his mother Auge but was recognised in time, and the *Assembly of Achaeans*, in which Telephus promised to lead the Greeks to Troy, if Achilles healed the wound given him in the earlier expedition. A fragment, in which it is at least certain that Telephus is told to visit sailors and pilots and a captain is told to appoint him a guide, has no obvious place in the *Aleadae* or *Mysians*, but suits admirably the *Assembly of Achaeans*.

Our knowledge of the *Assembly of Achaeans* depends on a long papyrus fragment, two fragments quoted by ancient authors, and four words quoted by Hesychius. The long fragment (142, Pearson) begins with the last verse of a chorus: "You (Telephus)

<sup>1</sup> See my *Introduction to Sophocles*, 173, 179, for literature and discussion.



will guide the Atridae to Troy. For you are a Greek from Tegea, not a Mysian." Then Achilles appears and in a dialogue with Odysseus expresses his scorn of the delays caused by the Atridae. This fragment makes it possible to draw conclusions as to what went before and what came after.

1. Telephus has promised to lead the host to Troy (l. 4).

2. Telephus is accepted as a leader because he is a Greek and not a foreigner (l. 7).

3. Telephus is addressed in the second person and is therefore, either still on the stage (which is unlikely in view of the next scene) or has just departed (l. 3).

4. Odysseus has been on the stage during the chorus, waiting for Achilles (l. 14).

5. Odysseus knows that Achilles is coming and therefore Achilles has probably been preceded by a messenger, like Teucer in the *Ajax* and Lichas in the *Trachiniae*.

6. The authorities have already decided to sail and the fleet and army will soon be ready (ll. 14-18).

7. Achilles has come at the moment when he is needed (l. 15).

The course of the remainder of this scene can be gathered from Hyginus.<sup>1</sup> "The Greeks asked Achilles to heal Telephus. Achilles replied that he had no knowledge of the art of healing. Then Odysseus said, 'Apollo did not say you, but named the author of the wound, the spear'." From this, it appears that :—

8. Telephus has already communicated to the Greeks the prophecy that the author of his wound shall heal him.

9. Telephus will later be healed by the rust from Achilles' spear.

Of the other fragments no. 143—"as the sea guards of a night voyage direct (or are directing) the keel down wind by their tillers"—is held by Pearson to be a simile, and is referred to a description of the Greeks' stormy return from Mysia by Fromhold Treu. But it might equally be a description of the fleet putting to sea on the present expedition; then fragment no. 145, ἐκκεκώπενται, "is provided with oars" might belong to the same context.

<sup>1</sup> *fab. ci.* Fromhold-Treu, *Hermes*, 1934, 335, also adduces certain fragments of Accius' *Telephus*.

In fragment no. 144, someone is told to sit on a high chair and read out the list of those who have sworn to join the expedition so that it may appear who is absent. This should come from the early part of the play and the discovery of Achilles' absence would prepare the audience for his later arrival.

Hyginus says that the Greeks were easily reconciled to Telephus because they had an oracle according to which Troy could not be captured unless they were led by Telephus. The oracle was probably not so explicit. Hyginus says that Apollo told Telephus that he could only be healed by the spear which wounded him, but his further narrative (quoted above) shows that Apollo actually said "by the author of the wound." Hyginus may therefore also have missed the finer point of the oracle given to the Greeks. Something is needed to explain why the chorus stress the fact that Telephus comes from Greece and not from Mysia. I suggest that when Apollo was asked how the Greeks should reach Troy, he replied that no foreigner should guide them. The oracle given to the Greeks and the oracle given to Telephus then converge and complete each other like the two oracles in the *Trachiniae*,<sup>1</sup> where Heracles has been told on different occasions that he shall at this time obtain release from his labour and that no living man shall slay him.

The outline of the play then must have run something like this. The muster roll of the Achaeans is taken and Achilles is found missing. The oracle that the Greeks shall capture Troy if no foreigner leads them is announced, and a proclamation is made debarring foreigners; Telephus arrives and offers his services but is prohibited by the decree. He is then recognised as an Arcadian. At the same time a message is brought announcing Achilles' arrival. Orders are given for the army and fleet to be made ready. Telephus departs while Odysseus waits for Achilles. Odysseus persuades Achilles to heal Telephus. The healing and the preparation of the fleet are presumably told in the messenger speech. The details of the arrangement in scenes, the characters other than Odysseus, Achilles, and Telephus, even the identity of the chorus must escape us but the main lines of the play are clear.

The Rylands fragment contains first the end of a scene or section of a scene in iambics and then four lines in anapæsts. Anapæsts<sup>1</sup> are less common in Sophocles than Euripides, and except in the *Ajax* and *Antigone* are only used as the prelude to a kommos, which these recited anapæsts clearly are not. In those two plays recited anapæsts are also used to introduce new characters. In the *Ajax* the leader of the chorus recites anapæsts to urge Teucer to complete Ajax' burial when Menelaus has departed,<sup>2</sup> and as in the *Agamemnon* before the sung part of the *parodos*. The four lines of anapæsts are not the introduction of a new character. Nor can they be the introduction of the *parodos* since the reciter has clearly heard the preceding speech. They might come at the end of a section of the scene like the address to Teucer. There is another possibility; in Aeschylus other choruses besides the *parodos* are introduced by recited anapæsts and this may also have been the practice of Sophocles in his early plays.

It is clear from the words of the whole fragment that Telephus is told to visit sailors and pilots and the chorus leader suggests that some captain should provide him with a guide. Telephus has evidently been accepted as a guide but the fleet has not yet sailed. The other papyrus fragment (482), as we have seen, begins when Telephus has been accepted as leader and has lately left the stage. The new fragment evidently ends shortly before the old fragment begins. Either the anapæsts are followed by a short speech of Odysseus telling how he will address Achilles and then the chorus follows, as in the *Ajax*.<sup>3</sup> Or, as is perhaps more likely, the anapæsts are the introduction to the chorus of which the end is preserved in the old fragment. In either case Odysseus is probably the speaker of the iambics with which the Rylands fragment begins.

Thus forearmed we can consider the fragment in detail. Unfortunately, no line has its first word preserved, and therefore the length of the supplements is uncertain, and though the left margin was presumably straight, the scribe may have omitted letters as in ll. 5, 13.



1. 2. The sense is probably, "Now we have to share the execution of the plan." Odysseus has already sketched his part.

3. The last word of this line is difficult. It is just possible that Sophocles wrote *πείρατα* with either *χθονός* or *τάξεως* as the first word of the line. But I prefer the suggested *πέργαμα* with *πόρον* at the end of l. 4. "Show the sailors and pilots the way to Troy."

5-6. These lines are difficult. I do not see why Telephus should "appear suddenly after nightfall"; it seems a bad way to gain confidence. *αὐτὸς παρών*, "being present yourself," is possible. "After nightfall" should refer to the voyage if my interpretation of fr. 143 is correct. The words may go with the next sentence, when a colon should be inserted after *παρών*. The next sentence as restored seems to me unduly harsh. I suggest *συμπλέων* | *ἅπαντα*, "then as their fellow sailor go as counsellor to the host in all things."

7f. These lines also are extremely difficult. I should prefer a slightly different reading. *ξένον* or *ξένους* is necessary as a complement to *ἄστος*, and must begin the sentence. If *τὰ πρῶτα* can be the subject of *εἴργουσι* (which seems to be the only possible supplement, although it is inconveniently short), *ἔσταται* (cf. *El.* 50) may be the last word of l. 7. The "story" is then the proclamation of l. 11. "For a foreigner, as the decree runs, may not use our rights."

9. Perhaps *δὲ* has fallen out after *τύχης* (for position, cf. *Aj.* 116). The line may have ended *ἄμεμπτος ὦν*, and the next line have begun *ἐρᾶς*. "But your position is impeccable and you desire to get home."

11. Possibly *ἡγῆ* in the causal clause should be read. "As you are a *Greek* guide, the proclamation does not harm you any more."

12. I should prefer *νῦν δ'* to contrast with *μὲν* in l. 6.

13. These lines are perhaps spoken by Telephus. He begs Odysseus to arrange for Achilles to come and heal him.

16. I should prefer *ἐπὶ δ' οὖν*.

18. The first word must be *εἰ*, and the line may be paraphrased: "Whoever wants to go to Troy."

19. The chorus promise to plead Telephus' case with Achilles.

The new fragment is the end of the scene before the arrival of Achilles. Telephus has proved his Greek origin and his ability to show the way to Troy. Odysseus has promised to persuade Achilles to heal him, and sends him now to the fleet, while he himself waits for Achilles. The whole fragment, if the suggested restorations are correct, runs as follows :—

OD. Now we have to share the execution of the plan. Then go, Telephus, and show the sailors and pilots the way to Troy, visiting them yourself. Then sailing after nightfall, go as counsellor to the host in all things. For foreigners, as the decree runs, the chiefs forbid to use Greek right and law. But your position is impeccable and you desire to get home. For being a *Greek* guide, the proclamation harms you no more. Now therefore, set forth from this Western promontory. TE. If we do this well, you must not forget what follows. You must remove anything discordant that Achilles may come.

Ch. This being so, if anyone will be a captain, let him appoint an escort to sail with the stranger. For the rest I myself will arrange all.

















3 8198 309 265 278  
THE UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS AT CHICAGO

